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L I F E

AND

RELIGIOUS OPINIONS AND EXPERIENCE

OF

MADAME DE LA MOTHE GUYON :

TOGETHER WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PERSONAL HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS OPINIONS

OF

FENELON, ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY.

BY THOMAS C. UPHAM.

PROFESSOR OF MENTAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

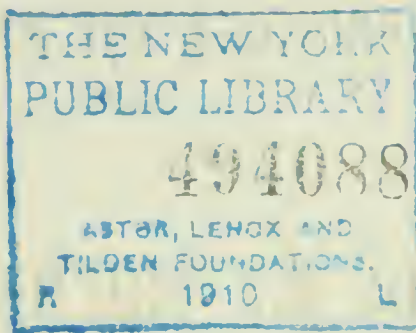
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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE.

Domestic arrangements of Madame Guyon. Finds it necessary to form new associations on her return to Paris. Character of them. Duchess de Beauvilliers. Duchess de Chevreuse. Character of the Duke de Chevreuse. Begins to labor in this higher class of society. Labors of La Combe. His doctrines. Opposition formed against him by La Mothe, half-brother of Madame Guyon. Reference to the doctrines of Michael de Molinos. The case of La Combe brought before M. de Harlai, Archbishop of Paris; and subsequently before Louis Fourteenth. La Combe writes to Madame Guyon. Is sent to the Bastille. Sympathy felt for him by Madame Guyon. Their correspondence..... 1

CHAPTER II.

Designs of those who had imprisoned La Combe, in relation to Madame Guyon. They propose to her to leave Paris, and take up her residence at Montargis. She refuses. Desire of her half-brother, La Mothe, to become her spiritual Director. Her opposition to it. Her tranquillity of mind. Account of a remarkable inward experience. Her labors for souls, and the success attending them. Conversation with La Mothe. His efforts to compel her to leave the city. Her reply. Her case brought before Louis Fourteenth. Position of Louis. Her imprisonment, Jan. 1688, in the Convent of St. Marie. The treatment she experienced. Separation from her daughter. Poetry..... 17

CHAPTER III.

Occupations in prison. Commences the history of her life. Remarks upon this work. Her feelings in her imprisonment. Her

labors and usefulness while there. Letter to one of her religious friends. Visited by an ecclesiastical Judge, and a Doctor of the Sorbonne. Examined by them. Her feelings. Poem	30
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Her views in relation to the continuance of her imprisonment. Her spirit of inward peace and triumph. Inward trials. Spirit of forgiveness towards her enemies. Attempts made to involve her daughter in a marriage arrangement. The king favorable to the plan, but requires Madame Guyon's consent. The subject proposed to her with the view of obtaining her consent by M. Charon. Her reply. Unfavorable state of things. Writes to Père La Chaise. Sickness. Renewed trials. Remarks on the dispensation of the Holy Ghost. A Poem	41
--	----

CHAPTER V.

The 22d of August, 1688. Her mental state at that time. Efforts of her friends unavailing. Madame de Miramion. She visits the Convent of St. Marie. Becomes acquainted with Madame Guyon. Makes known her case to Madame de Maintenon, who intercedes for her with Louis Fourteenth. Madame Guyon released from her first imprisonment, by the king's order, in October, 1688, after being imprisoned eight months. Resides with Madame de Miramion. Marriage of her daughter with the Count de Vaux. Notices of his family. Goes to reside with her daughter. Letters. A Poem	62
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray. His character. His early designs. Interesting letter. Sent by Louis Fourteenth as a missionary to Poitou. Learns something of the character and religious labors of Madame Guyon. On his return from Poitou, in 1688, he passes through Montargis, and makes some inquiries in relation to her. Meets her for the first time at the country residence of the Duchess of Charost, at Beine. They return to Paris together. Letters which passed between them	81
---	----

CHAPTER VII.

Religious state of Fenelon. His entire consecration to God. Perplexities connected with his inward experience. His correspon-	
---	--

dence with Madame Guyon. Interesting letter written by him in answer to one received from her. On the various and successive steps of inward crucifixion. Of unfavorable and selfish habits of the will, and of the necessity of correcting them. Of the principle of faith in its relation to reason..... 97

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarks upon Fenelon. Letter from Madame Guyon to him. Her remarks on faith. Remarks on the disappropriation or entire consecration of the will. Incident in her past experience illustrative of the doctrine of faith. Fenelon appointed, in August, 1689, preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy. Character of the Duke. Of the labors of Fenelon in his education. Remarks on the writings of Fenelon. Of the influence of Madame Guyon upon him. Her letter to him on his appointment. Revival of religion at Dijon. A Poem 107

CHAPTER IX.

1692. Labors of Madame Guyon with others. Interviews with Madame de Maintenon. Unhappiness of the latter. Establishment of the Institution of St. Cyr. Interviews there between Madame de Maintenon and Madame Guyon. Labors of Madame Guyon with the young ladies of the Institution of St. Cyr. Letters to them. Madame Guyon visited by Sister Malin, resident at Ham. Public attention thus directed to her again. Her interview with the learned Peter Nicole. Interview with Monsieur Boileau, brother of the poet of that name. Writes at his suggestion the small work, entitled, A Concise Apology for the Short Method of Prayer. Poisoned by one of her servants. Temporary concealment. Friendship of M. Fouquet. His sickness and death 122

CHAPTER X.

Efforts made in her behalf. She objects to the course which her friends propose to take. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. Remarks on his character and position. He becomes alarmed at the progress of the new doctrine. Seeks an interview with Madame Guyon, at Paris, in September, 1693. Second interview on the 30th of Jan. 1694. Some account of the conversation which passed between them. Effect of it upon Madame Guyon. Correspondence between them. Attacked with a fever..... 140

CHAPTER XI.

1695. Opposition to her doctrines continues. Louis Fourteenth appoints three commissioners, Bossuet, De Noailles, and Tronson, to examine them. Their character. She prepares and lays before them the work, entitled, *Justifications*. Account of the first meeting of the commissioners. Exclusion of the Duke of Chevreuse from the meeting. Course taken by Bossuet. She has interviews subsequently with the Bishop of Chalons and Monsieur Tronson. No condemnation passed upon her at this time. Of the articles of Issy. She retires for a time to the Convent of St. Mary in Meaux. Her remarks on a charge of hypocrisy made against her. A Poem 173

CHAPTER XII.

1695. Sickness. Visited by Bossuet at the convent. Singular conversation between them. Reference to a sermon of Bossuet. Madame Guyon receives recommendations from him and from the prioress and nuns of the convent. Leaves Meaux for Paris. Excitement occasioned by her return. Conceals herself for five months. Is seized by order of the king, and imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes. State of her mind. Poems 186

CHAPTER XIII.

1696. Bossuet commences writing on the subject of the inward life. Feelings with which he wrote. His book, entitled, *Instructions on Prayer*, approved by the Bishop of Chartres and the Archbishop of Paris. Fenelon refuses to give his approbation of it. Writes to Madame de Maintenon, giving his reasons for his refusal. Origin of the work, entitled, the *Maxims of the Saints*. Some remarks upon it.

MAXIMS OF THE SAINTS.

- [The *Maxims of the Saints*; — or *Maxims* having relation to the experiences of the Inward Life and the doctrines of Pure Love, by Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray; — the sentiment or substance of them herein being given] 201

CHAPTER XIV.

1697. Reference to the appointment of Fenelon as archbishop of Cambray. Importance attached to his opinions and influence. Opinions of some distinguished men on the *Maxims of the Saints*.

Decided course of Bossuet. Feelings of Louis Fourteenth towards Fenelon. Characters of Bossuet and Fenelon as compared with each other. The true question in controversy between them. Notices of some of the more important publications of Bossuet. Remarks on the work entitled *A History of Quietism*. Correspondence with the Abbé de Rancè 254

CHAPTER XV.

1697-1699. The subject of controversy brought before the Pope, Innocent Twelfth. He appoints commissioners to examine it. Of the divisions which existed in regard to it. The decision in relation to the book delayed. Dissatisfaction of the king of France. He writes a letter to the Pope. He banishes Fenelon. Letter of Fenelon to Madame de Maintenon. Interest expressed in the behalf of Fenelon by the duke of Burgundy. Conversation of the king with the duke de Beauvilliers. His treatment of the Abbe Beaumont and others. Interesting letter of Fenelon to the duke de Beauvilliers. Second letter of the king to the pope. Condemnation of Fenelon 278

CHAPTER XVI.

Character of Fenelon. Labors in his diocese. His method of preaching. His visits among his people. Of the peasant who lost his cow. The feelings of Fenelon, when the bishop's palace at Cambray was burnt. His conduct during a time of war. Respect in which he was held by the belligerent parties. His hospitality. Extract from the Chevalier Ramsay. Of the spirit of Quietude or Quietism, which was ascribed to him. Meditations on the infant Jesus. Of his forbearance and meekness in relation to others. His views on religious toleration. Feelings in relation to his separation from his friends. His correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. His death 292

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the influence of Madame Guyon upon Fenelon. . Remarks upon woman's influence. Madame Guyon transferred from the prison of Vincennes to that of Vaugirard. Her religious efforts there. Interference of the archbishop of Paris. Feelings of the king towards Madame Guyon. His treatment of some members of the Seminary of St. Cyr. He removes a son of Madame Guyon from

his office of lieutenant in the king's guards. Proceedings of Godet Marais, bishop of Chartres. Feelings of Madame Guyon in relation to Fenelon. Visited in prison by the archbishop of Paris, who reads to her a letter from La Combe. Her feelings. A Poem	308
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

1698. Transferred from Vaugirard to the Bastille. Some account of the Bastille. Extract from a letter of Madame Guyon. Man of the iron mask. Madame Guyon's maid-servant imprisoned in the Bastille. Her personal history. Her religious character. Her letters. Her death. Situation of Madame Guyon. The religious support which she experienced	318
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

On the nature of pure love. The advocates of this doctrine called Quietists. Of those traits of religious character which seem to be connected with the origin of the name. Of the meekness and simplicity of spirit, which characterize the true Quietist. The Quietist in affliction. The Quietist in action. The Quietist when suffering injury. The Quietist in prayer. Of other religious traits which characterize him. Extracts from the writings of Molinos. Selections from the poems of Madame Guyon	337
--	-----

CHAPTER XX.

On the religion of prisons. Madame Guyon released in 1702, after four years' imprisonment in the Bastille. Banished during the remainder of her life to the city of Blois. Her state of health. Visited at Blois by many persons, foreigners as well as others. Publication of her Autobiography. Her feelings towards her enemies. Extract from Thauler. Her religious state at this time. Letters written near the close of her life. Remarks on her character. Address to her spiritual children. Sickness and death	361
---	-----

NOTE	379
------------	-----

LIFE AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

OF

MADAME GUYON.

CHAPTER I.

Domestic arrangements of Madame Guyon. Finds it necessary to form new associations on her return to Paris. Character of them. Duchess de Beauvilliers. Duchess de Chevreuse. Character of the Duke de Chevreuse. Begins to labor in this higher class of society. Labors of La Combe. His doctrines. Opposition formed against him by La Mothe, half-brother of Madame Guyon. Reference to the doctrines of Michael de Molinos. The case of La Combe brought before M. de Harlai, Archbishop of Paris; and subsequently before Louis Fourteenth. La Combe writes to Madame Guyon. Is sent to the Bastille. Sympathy felt for him by Madame Guyon. Their correspondence.

OF the domestic history of Madame Guyon, for some years subsequent to her return to Paris, we know but little. She hired a house in the city; and once more collected together her little family, consisting of her daughter and two sons, with such domestics as she thought it necessary to employ. Her established reputation for piety necessarily separated her from fashionable society; in which, indeed, she no longer had any disposition to mingle. But her house was open to her friends and relatives, some of whom were persons of distinction, and especially to persons of piety of all classes and ranks.

2. Many of those, with whom she had been acquainted before she left Paris, had now gone. Friends and enemies were no more. Her own circumstances were much altered; and it was almost a matter of necessity, that the associations, which she was now called to form, would be new.

Society is a law of nature. It must be a very marked combination of providential circumstances, which will authorize a man to separate himself, in any considerable degree, from his fellow-men. But in forming her new associations, her religious principles required her to exclude every selfish suggestion, and to form her judgments under the indications of that ever-present Providence which is the true light to the consecrated mind. She never forgot the humble and the poor; it was the dictate of her natural as well as of her Christian sympathies, to love them and to strive to do them good; but the indications of that Providence which had given her talent and personal influence, as well as deep piety, seemed to call her to labor with another class of people; a class more elevated in the view of the world, but not easily accessible to religious influences.

3. It is true, not "many mighty and not many noble are called." Their position is in some respects averse to the reception of the humbling doctrines of the gospel. And yet the historian of the Acts of the Apostles informs us, that in the city of Berea there were some "*honorable women*," women who held a high position in society, and that in Thessalonica also there were not "a few of the chief women," who *believed*.

Among the acquaintances which Madame Guyon formed at this time, we may properly mention here the Duchess of Beauvilliers. Of this distinguished lady, as well as of her husband, we have some account in the Memoirs of St. Simon, who has given sketches, apparently drawn with much exactness, of many eminent persons of the age of Louis Four-

teenth. She was a daughter of the great Colbert. Inheriting no small share of her father's intellectual power, she was one of those rare women who combine fervor of piety with strength of intellect. Placed by her descent and her marriage in an eminent position in French society, she was still more truly eminent by her faith in God, her alms and good works. With this lady Madame Guyon formed an acquaintance soon after her return from Italy and Grenoble; through the instrumentality, I suppose, of her sister, the Duchess of Chevreuse, with whom Madame Guyon seems to have become acquainted at a little earlier period.

4. The Duchess of Chevreuse resided a small distance out of Paris. Madame Guyon visited her soon after her return; and there she met with a number of other persons, drawn together by that instinct of piety which never fails to seek the company of those who are characterized by similar dispositions. It was not far from this time, and perhaps at this very meeting, that Madame Guyon, animated by the spirit of piety which was like a continual flame in her bosom, formed a little association of ladies of rank, among whom were the Duchess of Beauvilliers, the Duchess of Bethune, and the Countess of Guiche, with whom she met from time to time for religious objects. It was interesting to see some of the most distinguished ladies of the capital of France recognizing the truths of religion, and rejoicing in the experimental power of piety,—ladies, at whose feet fortune, or more properly and truly, *Providence*, had scattered the choicest flowers of this world, in order to see whether they would take the life of God with its present trials and its future triumphs, or the pleasures and honors of the world for a season. They made the better choice; like one commemorated with just commendation in the Bible, who preferred the afflictions resulting from the service of God, to the world's pleasures; and the reproach of Christ

to those treasures and honors of Egypt, which would have flowed in upon him, had he chosen to remain as the unbelieving son of Pharaoh's daughter.

5. These ladies, following the laws of the human mind, which are as applicable in religious experience as in secular experience, and which prompt us to inquire for those whose lives are associated with the principles we love, knew what individuals in France had a character for true and eminent piety. They were not ignorant, therefore, of the reputation of Madame Guyon. That which was spoken comparatively in secret was uttered afterwards upon the house-tops. The voice which was uttered at the foot of the Jura mountains and the Alps, in the cottages of the poor, and amid the solitary and inaccessible cliffs of the Chartreuse, was repeated from province to province, till it reached the high and public places of Paris. It was but natural, therefore, that they should wish to know her, to invite her to their little assemblies, and to allow her that influence to which her mental power and her piety entitled her. And it was from this time, that we find her name associated, either in union or in opposition, with some of the most distinguished names of France.

6. The terms of commendation, in which we have spoken of the Duchess of Beauvilliers, would apply with but slight variation to her accomplished and pious sister, the Duchess of Chevreuse. The husbands of these two ladies, who held some of the highest offices in the state, sympathized with their wives in their religious tendencies. They formed a personal acquaintance with Madame Guyon; made themselves familiar with her religious views and experience; and valued and sought her society. But this could not easily have taken place, considering the position of the parties, if she had been a person of inferior talent, of rude and unpolished manners, or of doubtful piety. The character

of those who sought her company shows the estimation in which she was held, and is an evidence of her claims to it. The individuals who have just been referred to were among the most distinguished persons in France at that time. In the anonymous *Life of Fenelon*, published at the Hague in 1723,* we find the Duke of Chevreuse spoken of in the following favorable terms :

“He had a rare stock of knowledge, an easy eloquence, and a mind so fertile in resources as to be capable of re-mounting in every thing to the first principles, and of forming the greatest designs. He had also the courage to execute the designs which he formed. In his temper he was sweet and affable ; in his manners, polite and unaffected. He was naturally a person of great vivacity of spirit ; but had such a control of himself that he always appeared equal and calm. He lived in his family with his children like a good friend, as well as a good father. In a word, piety had united in him the virtues human and divine, to such a degree, that he was at the same time a good Christian, a good citizen, and a perfect friend.”

7. Of another of the persons whom we have mentioned as having established an acquaintance and friendship with Madame Guyon, a learned writer, M. de Bausset, bishop of Alais, speaks as follows : “The spirit of party may refuse to the Duke de Beauvilliers the character of a great genius, because his extreme modesty and his natural reserve rendered him habitually circumspect ; but M. de St. Simon, whom no one will accuse of being prodigal of praise, and who lived in habits of intimacy with the Duke de Beauvilliers, says of him that he had a *very superior mind*.” This person, as well as the Duke de Chevreuse, sustained an

* Ascribed to the Chevalier Ramsay, author of the *Travels of Cyrus*.

important position, and was in high credit at the court of Louis Fourteenth. It was at the suggestion and request of Beauvilliers, who had nine daughters, in whose moral and intellectual development he took a deep interest, that Fenelon wrote his celebrated Treatise on the Education of Daughters.*

8. It was into this class of society, of whom the individuals we have mentioned may be regarded as examples, that Madame Guyon was introduced. That unseen Providence which gives to each one his talent and his place, his capacity for action, and his opportunities of suffering, placed her in this important and conspicuous position. These distinguished persons, who were above her in worldly rank, recognizing, as they obviously did, the spiritual relation which God had established between them, were ready to take their appropriate position in things which related to the religious life, and to become her disciples. It was the dictate of a sound discretion and piety, which wished to become acquainted with the trials of her personal history, and to avail itself of the wisdom of her higher experience. This was now her field of labor, which she cultivated with that simplicity and fervor of spirit, which had characterized her under other circumstances.

Nor was it this class of persons alone, of those who were elevated somewhat above the common rank, who valued and sought her society. The aged and pious Abbé de Gaumont, whose whole life had been one of prayer, visited her house. And she had the satisfaction of numbering among her personal friends a Doctor of the Sorbonne, M. Bureau, a man distinguished for learning and piety. It was thus extensively and signally, that her influence, or rather that divine in-

* Bausset's Life of Fenelon, vol. i. p. 99.

fluence, which spoke and developed itself through her instrumentality was felt in so short a time.

9. In the meantime, La Combe, who sustained to her the ecclesiastical relation of Spiritual Director, labored, in different situations and under different circumstances, to effect the same great objects. The religious views and experience of La Combe, which had received their direction from Madame Guyon, had become the dearer to him the longer he lived; and he was correctly understood as laboring in the same great cause of inward and spiritual religion, in distinction from the merely outward and ceremonial, to which she had given her life. His efforts, originating in sincere and fervent belief, and sustained by a high degree of learning and eloquence, were not without effect. So that, in view of the religious labors which were prosecuted among different classes, the poor as well as the rich—the lowly as well as the noble—might be said to have the gospel preached to them. This state of things, characterized as it was by the introduction of views which were considered by many as very novel, could not long exist without exciting much attention. It soon began to be said in certain quarters, as it was said under other circumstances in earlier times, “those that have turned the world upside down have come hither also.” In a city like that of Paris, where the attention of men was continually arrested, then as it is now, by a thousand novelties which have the least possible connection with religion, the impression must have been profound and extensive, in order to have attracted so much notice in so short a time. A year had not elapsed before the eye of civil and ecclesiastical authority was sternly fixed upon those who were regarded as introducing opinions adverse to the received doctrines and practices of the Catholic church.

10. What the doctrines were which they advocated, can be inferred, I suppose, from what has already been said,

from time to time, in this work. Agreeing, to that extent, with some of the Catholic writers and sects, as well as with the Protestants generally, they made FAITH the foundation of the religious life. They did not object, it is true, to ceremonial observances and austerities when carried to a certain degree ; but, on the contrary, regarded them at times as exerting a favorable influence in restraining the appetites, and in breaking up injurious habits, which had been previously formed. But they did object very strenuously to any system of observances and worship, to any and every form and degree of labor and suffering, as having any *atoning* merit, and as furnishing a justification for past sins ; insisting that salvation is by the cross of Christ, and by *faith alone*. This was one ground of offence ; but it was another and still greater, when they added, that Christ, received by faith, can save not only from the penalty of past sins, but from the polluting and condemning power of present sins ; that he has power not only to make us holy, but to *keep* us holy.

That is to say, they maintained, that he who is in Christ is not only a new creature in the mitigated sense of the terms, but is so far and so truly a new creature, that he may, by the grace of God, love God without selfishness and with *entire purity* ; in other words, instead of being in the mixed life of faith and doubt, of love and aversion, may love Him *with all the heart*, and his neighbor as himself. They maintained further, that this not only *may* be, but that it *ought* to be ; that it not only *can* be, but that it *will* be ; that sanctification is the appropriate and true end of justification ; and that the merciful intentions of the Infinite Mind are not satisfied, and it is impossible that they should be satisfied, by merely redeeming us from hell, without making us holy. They proclaimed the doctrine of sanctification, therefore, as the true complement and result of that of justification. Regarding sin as synonymous with selfishness,

they made terrible war upon the life of self in all its forms. They had strong hope ; but not so much in man's works, as in God's faithfulness to those who put their trust in Him. They delighted in the idea of a triumphant gospel, of a holy world made holy by faith in Him who has power to make holy, of a New Jerusalem descending from heaven, of a true *civitas Dei*.

11. A little more than a year had elapsed, when La Combe, whose views were such as we have now represented, and whose faithful preaching, it is hardly necessary to say, corresponded with what he believed, was arrested, and shut up in the Bastille. It is painful to relate, that an agent in this transaction, so much at variance with the principles of religious freedom and charity, was the half-brother of Madame Guyon herself, who has already been mentioned. Father La Mothe, the person to whom we now refer, was himself a priest, belonging to the order of the Barnabites, of which La Combe was a member. But this circumstance, which seemed to imply the probability at least of friendship and confidence, had no effect to turn him from his purpose. Jealous of the relation which La Combe sustained to his sister as her spiritual Director, and offended at the religious sympathy which existed between them, he became an enemy and a persecutor.

Madame Guyon intimates, that one cause of La Mothe's jealousy of La Combe was the uncommon popularity of the latter as a preacher. Perhaps candor would suggest, if he was jealous of his popularity, he was also doubtful of his doctrines, and feared their consequences. At any rate, such was his professed conviction. He expressed his belief, and probably with some degree of sincerity, that La Combe was heretical ; a charge which had previously been brought against him in other places, and for which he had already suffered.

12. It was but a short time before this, that the doctrines of Michael de Molinos, whom we have already mentioned as having appeared, if not as a separatist, yet as a religious reformer in Italy, had been subjected to an ecclesiastical examination, and had been condemned. Sixty propositions were selected from his writings, which were pronounced erroneous and heretical. La Mothe and others, who were associated with him, took the ground, that the sentiments of La Combe were similar to those of Molinos, and were equally dangerous. What the sentiments of Molinos were, can perhaps be conjectured from a remark which we find in the Memoirs of D'Angeau. It is this.

“1685, July 10th. — I am informed, that a Jesuit, named Molinos, has been put into the Inquisition at Rome, accused of wishing to become the chief of the new sect called Quietists, *whose principles are somewhat similar to those of the Puritans in England.*”

Now, it is well understood, that faith, considered as the foundation and support of the inward religious life, was a leading and favorite idea with the Puritans. I have no doubt, that D'Angeau might have correctly added, that Molinos went further than was common among the puritanical writers; making faith the foundation not only of justification but of *sanctification*, and insisting also upon the entire sanctification of the heart, resting upon faith as its basis in distinction from mere works, as the duty and privilege of every Christian. As this doctrine had been condemned as heretical by the Romish ecclesiastical authorities, it was urged by La Mothe and others, that the doctrine preached by La Combe, which was very similar, should be regarded in the same light.

13. It was upon this basis, that a hostile party, headed by La Mothe, commenced and prosecuted measures against La Combe, which terminated in the manner that has been

mentioned. They appeared before M. de Harlai, the archbishop of Paris, a man of great capacity and energy. The accounts, which are given of the private character and habits of the archbishop, are various and conflicting. Of his zeal for the stability of the Catholic church, with the views which then prevailed in the church, *and as it then was*, there can be no doubt. He examined the subject with a promptness and personal interest which showed that dissenters from the established views had but little to expect from him; and having made up his mind that the case was one which required something more than mere ecclesiastical disapproval and interdiction, he laid it before his sovereign, Louis Fourteenth.

14. During these proceedings attempts were made, as is usual in such times of excitement, not only to take away the personal liberty of La Combe, but to injure and destroy his religious and moral character. These attempts, which involved to some extent the high character and reputation of Madame Guyon, signally failed. But he knew too well the dispositions of his opposers, and especially the exceeding jealousy of the king in relation to every thing which looked like a deviation from the established faith, to take much encouragement. In a letter, which he wrote to Madame Guyon at this time, he says, "The times look heavy. The storm gathers in the sky. I know not when the thunder which threatens me will fall. But recognizing, as I do, the divine will in all my trials, I am confident that all will be welcome to me from the hand of God." Not long after, meeting her on some occasion, he said, "I feel entirely resigned to those reproaches and ignominies, which I have no doubt that I am about to suffer. I am desirous that you should have the same feeling of resignation; and it is my wish, therefore, that you should sacrifice me to God, as I am going to sacrifice myself to him."

15. Louis Fourteenth was a man endowed with many excellent and kingly qualities. Whatever may have been his errors, it would not be easy to speak of him in any other than terms of respect. But his attachment to the Catholic church, or perhaps we should rather say, to the Catholic church *according to his particular views of it*, was too strong, if not too *prejudiced*, to be always consistent with a proper conception of the truth, and with a just exercise of Christian charity. He listened patiently to the statements which were made against La Combe ; but, so far as any thing appears, without giving the accused an opportunity to answer them. Believing him to be heretical, and of course dangerous to the established religion, he availed himself of his position as king of France, to give that aid to the church, which seemed to him to be required. Accordingly, the well-known instrument of tyranny, the *lettre de cachet*, which preceded cases of imprisonment under such circumstances, was issued. La Combe was suddenly arrested when at dinner, on the 3d of October, 1687, and immediately shut up in the Bastille.

16. It was not enough to put an end to his labors as a preacher, in which he had now been faithfully employed in Paris for little more than a year. His work, entitled *An Analysis of Mental Prayer*, written originally in Latin and subsequently translated into French, was submitted to the Inquisition at Rome, and was condemned by a formal decree, issued not long after. How long La Combe remained in the Bastille, that place of terror, which has been well described as the "abode of broken hearts," is not precisely known. "In one of the dungeons of that great prison," says Madame Guyon, "he was *incarcerated for life*. But his enemies having heard, that the officers of the Bastille esteemed him and treated him kindly, they took measures to have him removed to a much worse place." He was sent after a time, undoubtedly by the direction of the king, to a

place of confinement in the town of Lourde, in the distant department of the Upper Pyrenees. He was subsequently imprisoned in the well-known castle of Vincennes near Paris, and at a later period was transferred to the castle of Oleron, in the isle of Oleron. His imprisonments in various places, as I have remarked in another part of this work, extended through twenty-seven years. Thus terminated his earthly labors and hopes; at least so far as they were connected with his preaching the doctrines of faith. The only favor which he obtained from his persecutors was that of being placed, just before he died, in the Hospital of Char-enton.

17. This must have been a heavy blow to Madame Guyon; and the more so because one of the principal instruments in it was a member of her own family. She had known La Combe at an early period of life; she had been, in a very great degree, the instrument, in God's hands, of his conversion and of his religious growth; and had seen him, in the maturity of his powers, ably defending, in his sermons and in his printed writings, the doctrines which were so dear to her. And the result of a religious devotedness so thorough and single-hearted, was banishment and a prison; and that, too, without any hope of release. It was a great consolation to her, however, to know, that he who was thus called to suffer so deeply and permanently, in the very prime of his power and hopes, had inward supports, which none better than herself knew to be invaluable.

Speaking of him at this time, she says, "God will reward every one according to his works. There is something in me which tells me, that he fully recognizes the will of God; he knows who is at the head of events, whatever may be the subordinate instrumentality, *and is satisfied.*"

And again she remarks, in connection with these events and with great propriety, "One must not judge of the ser-

vants of God by what their enemies say of them, nor by their being oppressed under calumnies without any resource. Jesus Christ expired under pangs. God uses the like conduct towards his dearest servants, to render them conformable to his Son, *in whom he is always well pleased*. But few place that conformity where it ought to be. It is not in voluntary pains or austerities, but in those which are suffered in a submission ever equal to the will of God, in a renunciation of our whole selves; to the end that *God may be our all in all*, conducting us according to *his* views, and not *our own*, which are generally opposite to his. In fine, all religious perfection consists in this entire conformity with Jesus Christ; not in shining and remarkable things, whatever they may be, which men are so disposed to esteem and to publish abroad. It will only be seen in eternity who are the true friends of God. *Nothing pleases him but Jesus Christ, and that which bears his mark or character.*"

18. It was not, however, in her nature, and still less in her religious principles, to forget one whose piety and sufferings so justly rendered him dear to her. At no small risk on her part, she not only furnished him with money and books,* in order to render his situation as comfortable as possible, but continued to write to him while he lived. And if we may judge from the interesting letters which he wrote in answer, some of which have been preserved, the support and consolation which he experienced in her correspondence were very great. At one time she was obliged, for reasons which are not mentioned, to use great concealment; and having written him a letter without any signature, and with the authorship concealed in other respects as much as possible, he returned the following in answer, which shows in

* See Œuvres Complètes de Bossuet, Évêque de Meaux, tome xii. p. 45. Paris, 1836.

some degree the state of his mind after some years of banishment :

“ To Madame Guyon.

“ I hope my unknown correspondent, or rather my correspondent without a name, will be assured that I respond with all my heart to the honor which has been done me. The letter, which came to me under such peculiar circumstances, was not more kind, than it was religiously instructive and edifying. I rejoice, in all sincerity, in the holy friendship which you testify for me ; and it is no small satisfaction to know, that one who thus feels for the exile and the prisoner is herself advancing in the life and ways of God. I can truly say, it would be difficult to increase the happiness which I feel in knowing, as I have reason to know, that the heart which dictated those consoling lines to me is a heart which is filled with a faith without fear, and a love without selfishness. It is such a heart, which is a ‘ Temple of the Holy Ghost.’

“ The letter is without a name, but not without a character. The image of its author, in its religious outlines, is too deeply engraven upon my heart, not to be recognized. Accept, from the shades and sorrows of my prison, my sincere and affectionate gratitude. I look upon you as one fully united in God ; and it is in God that my heart embraces you.

“ In my present situation, correctly supposing me to be unable to do much else for the cause we love, you propose to me to meditate and to write. But, alas ! can the dry rock send forth flowing fountains ? I never had much power or inclination for such efforts ; and this seclusion from the world, this imprisonment, these cold and insensible walls, seem to have taken from me the power which I once had. The head, not the *heart*, seems to have become withered

and hard, like the rock upon which it has leaned so many years. My harp hangs unstrung; the sound of my viol is silent. Like the Jews of old, I sit down by the waters of my place of exile, and hang my harp upon the willows. It is true, there has been some mitigation of my state. I am now permitted to go beyond the walls of my prison into the neighboring gardens and fields, but it is only on the condition of my laboring there without cessation from morning till evening. What then can I do? How can I meditate? How can I think? Except it be upon the manner of subduing the earth, and of cultivating plants.

“I will add, however, that I have no choice for myself. All my desires are summed up in one, that God may be glorified in me. And to this end, may I be permitted once more to ask the prayers of one who can never cease to command my highest respect, or my warmest Christian affections.

“FRANCIS DE LA COMBE.”

CHAPTER II.

Designs of those who had imprisoned La Combe, in relation to Madame Guyon. They propose to her to leave Paris, and take up her residence at Montargis. She refuses. Desire of her half-brother, La Mothe, to become her spiritual Director. Her opposition to it. Her tranquillity of mind. Account of a remarkable inward experience. Her labors for souls ; and the success attending them. Conversation with La Mothe. His efforts to compel her to leave the city. Her reply. Her case brought before Louis Fourteenth. Position of Louis. Her imprisonment, Jan. 1688, in the Convent of St. Marie. The treatment she experienced. Separation from her daughter. Poetry.

THE objects of those who had thus put a stop to the labors of La Combe, and thrown him into prison, would not have been accomplished, if Madame Guyon had been permitted to prosecute her labors in quiet. She was in fact considered the head of the *new spirituality*, as it was termed ; and it would have been hardly consistent to have prosecuted, with so much promptness and severity, the subordinate agents, without especially noticing one whom they regarded as the head or principal in the movement. But they had no design to involve in doubt their character for consistency ; and had already begun upon Madame Guyon their process of reprehension and attack, before they had completed it upon La Combe.

2. La Mothe, as well as others with whom he was associated, knew very well how constant were her labors and

how great her influence. An influence the more to be dreaded, because it was now exerted among those whose position in society commanded the highest respect. Meeting her one day, La Mothe, who seems to have taken his measures, for the most part, in concurrence with M. de Harlai, archbishop of Paris, proposed to her as the readiest means of relieving and quieting the apprehensions which existed, to leave the city, and take up her residence at Montargis, the place of her birth. A proposition of this kind she could not hesitate to refuse. It was certainly very natural that she should decidedly object to it. What security could she have, that she, who had already been hunted from Paris to Gex, and from Gex to Thonon, and from Thonon to Grenoble and Marseilles, would not experience at Montargis the same system of rigid scrutiny and of violent oppression? And besides, to flee under such circumstances, when attacks were made upon her character as well as upon her religious principles, would have been an implied confession, either that her conduct had been wrong, or that her principles were untenable.

3. This, however, was the first mode of attack. And it was not difficult to foresee, if this should fail, that others would be resorted to. Indeed, it was already understood as a part of the process in operation against her, that La Mothe should take the place of La Combe, if she could be induced to consent to it, as her spiritual Director, which would give him an authorized and official, if not a personal influence. An influence, which could be exercised very effectually, whether she remained at Paris or fled to Montargis.

“La Mothe,” she says, “insisted on my taking himself for my spiritual Director; *a proposition to which I could not possibly assent*. Disappointed in this, he decried me wherever he went; and wrote to others, who were associated with him, to do the same. These persons, with the purpose

of aiding him in his plans, wrote to me very abusive letters ; and particularly insisted, that, if I did not place myself under his direction in the manner he proposed, I could not fail to be ruined.

“ These letters I have still by me. One Father, a member of the order of the Barnabites, whose dispositions were not wholly unfavorable, advised me to take the proposed course, on the ground that it was the best which could be done, and to make a virtue of necessity. Others advised me to put myself under his direction *in pretence* merely ; a course entirely abhorrent to my feelings, for I could not bear the thought of disguise or deceit. But without yielding to suggestions of this kind, I felt determined, whatever might be thought or said, not to hazard my liberty or peace by assenting to any such plan.

4. “ Amid the various trials and temptations to which I was exposed, I bore every thing with the greatest tranquillity, without taking any care to justify or defend myself. Having faith in God, I left it with him to order every thing as he should see best in regard to me. And in taking this course, He was graciously pleased to increase the peace of my soul, while every one seemed to cry out against me, and to look upon me as an infamous creature, except those few who knew me well by a near union of spirit. As I was once seated in a place of worship, I heard some persons behind me exclaim against me, and even some priests say, ‘ It was necessary to cast me out of the church.’ At this trying time I left myself to God without any reserve ; being entirely ready to endure the most rigorous pains and tortures, if such were his will. And this was so much the case, that I did not look to earthly friendships or earthly wisdom for support. I chose to owe every thing to God, without any dependence for help on any creature. I would not have it said, *that any but God had made Abraham rich.* Gen. xiv.

23. To lose all for Him is my best gain ; and to gain all without him would be my worst loss.

5. "In this state of things, I was one evening in my chamber. I was alone, praying to the Lord. All of a sudden I had a very remarkable experience of *union with Christ crucified*. That is to say, I seemed to have a very remarkable perception of what Christ suffered in his last agonies, combined not only with a readiness to suffer with him, but with an actual suffering in my own spirit, (*God only knows how great*,) derived, as it were, *sympathetically* from a view of his suffering. At the same time these words were present to my mind ; '*He was numbered with the transgressors*,' Mat. xv. 28.

"Nothing but experience can make any one comprehend what I mean. Something within me seemed to say, that I must learn from what I now felt, that I had not hitherto suffered what Christ had suffered, and that still greater trials were before me. And I exclaimed, O my Lord ! if there has not been poured upon me enough of reproaches and ignominies, finish and consummate in thine own way that which Thou hast in store. Every thing will be well received as coming from Thee. It was the promise which I made, the contract of our sacred marriage, *that I should suffer for thy name's sake*. And thy handmaid acknowledges thy goodness to her, continued all along to this day, in sanctifying her sufferings to the honor of thy worthy name."

6. It is worthy of notice, that during all this time, witnessing as she did the excitement and opposition which existed, and the severe treatment which La Combe had experienced, she calmly but unremittingly labored in the good cause to which she had devoted herself. She did this, foreseeing, beyond any question, that, in pursuing this course, she must herself soon experience the same severity. She had been in the city but little more than a year ; but the

outcry against her was general. There was no end to what was said of her novelties and heresies, followed up by attacks, as ungenerous as they were unfounded, against her private character. But notwithstanding this unfavorable state of things, "God," she says, "*did not fail to make use of me to gain many souls to himself.*" He was pleased to regard me in great kindness. In the poverty and weakness of his poor handmaid, he gave me spiritual riches. The more persecution raged against me, the more attentively was the word of the Lord listened to, and the greater number of spiritual children were given me."

Some of these persons, who naturally sympathized with her and did what they could in her behalf, were involved, more or less, in the trials she endured. A number were banished from the city, chiefly on the ground of having attended religious conferences, at her house or in company with her. One was banished, she states, against whom nothing further was alleged than his having made the remark, that her little book, meaning probably her book on Prayer, was a good one.*

7. It was under these circumstances, that she met one day, in one of the churches of Paris, her half-brother, La Mothe, whose agency in these transactions had been conspicuous, though partially concealed in regard to herself under the garb of friendship. "My sister," he said, "the time has come. It is necessary for you to decide to flee from the city. There are allegations against you of such a nature, that there seems to be no other course. You are even charged with high crimes."

Knowing as she did that the malevolence of her enemies would carry them to any extent, but conscious of her innocence, she replied, "If I am guilty of the crimes which are

* La Vie de Madame Guyon, pt. iii. ch. 4.

alleged, I cannot be too severely punished. Let punishment come. I cannot flee, I cannot go out of the way. There are abundant reasons why I should remain where I am. I have made an open profession of dedicating myself to the Lord, *to be his entirely*. If I have done things offensive to God, whom I would wish to love, and whom I would wish to cause to be loved by the whole world *even at the expense of my life*, I ought by my punishment to be made an example to the world. I am innocent; and shall not prejudice my claims to innocence by betaking to flight."

8. La Mothe, who probably did not anticipate so much resolution of purpose, was angry, and turned away from her with violent threats. As her enemies had failed to banish her by *artifice*, the matter was left to take the usual course. The charges against her morals, which were fabrications without the slightest foundation, were given up; her high purity and integrity of character were recognized; but the excellence of her character did not remedy or mitigate the fact of her heresy. On the contrary it seemed to render it the more dangerous. Accordingly her case, on the grounds of heretical teaching and doctrine, came before M. de Harlai, archbishop of Paris. The methods of proceeding, and the particulars inquired into, are not given. We only know, that the archbishop was clear and prompt in condemning her, so far as the correctness of her opinions was concerned; and sometime afterwards published an Ordinance and Pastoral Instructions to that effect; * but he had not authority, without the king's order, to imprison her.

"At that time," says M. de Bausset, the author of the Life of Fenelon, "the city of Paris was the diocese of M. de Harlai, who, whatever may have been his other faults, possessed, at least, the wisdom and the merit of being extremely scru-

* Œuvres Complètes de Bossuet, Evêque de Meaux, tome viii. pp. 660, 661. Ed. Paris, 1836.

pulous in resisting every novelty of opinion, which would be likely to disturb the tranquillity of the church and of public order. The representations, which were made to this prelate against Madame Guyon and Father La Combe, seemed to him to require, on his part, measures of precaution and severity; for he thought he perceived a conformity between their doctrine and that of Molinos. He accordingly demanded and *obtained from the king an order to secure their persons.*" *

The matter accordingly, as in the case of La Combe, was brought before Louis Fourteenth. The charges, as they were laid before the king, and as Madame Guyon herself has stated them, were these:— That she maintained heretical opinions;— That, for the purpose of inculcating these opinions, she held private religious assemblies, contrary to the practice and rules of the Catholic church;— That she had published a dangerous book, containing sentiments similar to those of the Spiritual Guide of Michael de Molinos, which had been condemned by a Papal decree;— And that she kept up a written correspondence with Molinos, who was now imprisoned at Rome. It was contended, (such being the character of her opinions, of her efforts, and of the personal relations she sustained,) that it was not enough merely to stop the circulation of her writings by an ecclesiastical interdiction, but was necessary also to restrict her person, and to imprison her.

9. It is necessary to understand the position of the mind of Louis. Tired of the prevalence of heresy within his dominions, he had already revoked the Edict of Nantz, and had sent his dragoons to the various parts of France, for the purpose of breaking up and dispersing the religious assemblies of the Protestants. Not satisfied with purging France from heresies, he seems to have thought, that it would be

* Life of Fenelon, by M. de Bausset, vol. i. ch. 5.

for his glory, as the eldest son of the church, to do the same thing for Italy. It was with this feeling, that he had employed the influence of France, in the person of the French ambassador, to hasten and secure the condemnation of Molinos.

The Pope, Innocent Eleventh, looking upon Molinos as a truly humble and pious man, whatever might be the errors of his opinions, was averse to taking extreme measures. It was the influence of the king of France, whose dread of heresy had become with him a controlling motive of action, which apparently decided the Pope to take the course which he did. And accordingly the accusers of Madame Guyon knew how easy it would be to excite the suspicions and the indignation of Louis, by connecting the doctrines which she advocated, with those of Molinos, to which he had been so averse, and of which he had procured the condemnation. Indeed, although she had never seen Molinos, and still less had ever corresponded with him, as had been alleged, it cannot, I think, be well denied, that there was a similarity in their religious views. The real objection against both was, that their doctrines, involving, as they did, a reliance upon faith in Christ alone as the true foundation of the Christian life in all its extent, tended to subvert some of the received ideas and practices of the Catholic church.

10. Louis, therefore, was obviously predisposed to condemn her. In this state of mind, her accusers laid before him a letter, bearing the signature of Madame Guyon, which contained the following passage. It was a forged letter; but the king was not aware of the fact at the time. The passage was this:—

“ I have great designs in hand. But since the imprisonment of Father La Combe, I am not without fears, that my plans may prove abortive. I am closely watched; and as a matter of precaution, I have left off holding religious meet-

ings at my own house ; but it is my intention to hold them in other streets and houses.”

This letter, in which Louis thought he saw the germs of another Protestantism springing up in his own city and under his own eye, seems to have brought him to a decision. And accordingly, without further deliberation, he issued the requisite *lettre de cachet*, or sealed order ; and Madame Guyon, although she was but partially recovered from a severe sickness, was confined as a prisoner in the Convent of St. Marie, in the suburb of St. Antoine. This took place on the 29th of January, 1688 ; a little more than three months after the imprisonment of La Combe.

11. It is not to be supposed, that this sudden change in her situation occurred without any interest felt or any effort made in her behalf. It was not possible, that those to whom God had made her the instrument of spiritual blessings, should see her character attacked and her person imprisoned without deep sorrow. A number of persons, some of them of considerable standing in society, were banished, in consequence of their sympathy in her views and in her trials. One of these was M. Bureau, a man of piety and learning, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had visited her house a number of times in company with another of her religious friends, the Abbé de Gaumont. But under a government, constituted as was that of France at the period of which we are speaking, there was but little security for truth and justice, when powerful influences were arrayed against them. The measures against her were taken with so much skill and promptness, that they entirely baffled all the favorable dispositions of those who were ready and willing to aid her.

12. “On the 29th of January, 1688,” she says, “I went to the Convent of St. Marie. This convent was selected, because the Mother Superior was known to be particularly zealous in the execution of the king’s orders. I received

the summons which required me to go there, in the early part of the day. A number of hours were allowed me, before I left my house, in which I received the calls and sympathy of many friends. When I arrived at the convent in the latter part of the day, I learnt that I must be shut up alone in a small chamber which served as my prison ; and though I was feeble, I was not allowed a maid to render me assistance. The residents of the convent were prepossessed with such frightful statements in relation to me, that they looked upon me, as I appeared among them, with a sort of horror. Those who were the agents in these transactions selected for my jailor a nun, who they supposed, from the severity of her character, would treat me with the greatest rigor. Certain it is, that the result verified their anticipations.

“She not only regarded me as a heretic, which my enemies knew was enough to ensure her ill will, but obviously looked upon me as an enthusiast, a hypocrite, and one disordered in mind. God alone knows what she made me suffer. As she sought to surprise me in my words, I was very careful in all my expressions ; but the more careful I was, the worse it was with me. I made more slips, and gave her more advantages over me, in consequence of my care, besides the anxiety which was necessarily occasioned in my own mind by it. I then left myself as I was, and resolved, though this woman should bring me to the scaffold, by the false reports which she was continually carrying to the Prioress or Mother Superior, that I would simply resign myself to my lot. And thus I entered into my former peaceful condition.”

13. One result of her imprisonment was, that her family, which she had once more collected around her, was again broken up. Amid the various trials and labors she passed through, she had one consolation, which she valued much ;—it was the society of her little daughter. This daughter,

who was now in the twelfth year of her age, had been her constant companion. Wherever she had traveled, and wherever she had taken up her abode, on the Seine and on the Lemane Lake, at Gex, at Thonon, and at Grenoble, she had listened to her young voice, and found a mother's hopes and joys some compensation for the sorrows she was not permitted to escape. She naturally expected, when it was made known to her that she must go into imprisonment, to be separated from the other members of her family; but she was desirous that her daughter might remain with her. Nor are we to suppose, that, in doing this, she regarded her daughter's happiness less than her own convenience. There were special reasons, as we shall have occasion to see hereafter, why her daughter should not be taken from her. And besides, she knew how strongly the child's affections were bound to herself, and that a palace would be far less acceptable to her and far less dear than her mother's prison.

14. "I thought," she says, "it would be consistent with the objects of my imprisonment, to permit my daughter to be left with me, and also one of my maid servants, whose assistance I needed. [It will be recollected, that she was scarcely recovered from a severe sickness.] But in this I was disappointed. My daughter was most at my heart; having cost me much care in her education. I had endeavored, with divine assistance, to eradicate her faults, and to dispose her to have no will of her own, which is the best disposition for a child. And I naturally desired that the results of these labors might not be lost by a too early and unrestricted exposure to the world. But they would not let her remain. My heart was deeply affected, when they took her from me. She was taken away, I knew not where. Finding that they would not allow her to remain with me, I requested that she might be permitted to stay in another part of the convent, which would be some satisfaction,

although I should not see her. But this was not granted ; nor would they allow any person to bring any news of her. *So that I was obliged to give her up, and to sacrifice her, as it were, as if she were mine no longer.*"

15. It would be gratifying to an innocent curiosity, and interesting for other reasons, to know something more of her place of imprisonment. It is not improbable that it was the place which was used as the prison of the convent ; it being sometimes necessary, in such institutions, to subdue the refractory members, and to produce in them suitable dispositions, by keeping them shut up. It was a small room in an upper story of the building, which was entered by a single door, that opened on the outside, and was secured by being locked and by a bar across it. It had an opening to the light and air only on one side ; and this was so situated, that the sun shone in upon it nearly the whole day, which rendered it exceedingly uncomfortable in the season of summer. It was here that she was enclosed, in solitary imprisonment, for eight months.

16. Every thing, which is connected with human calamity, especially every thing which is connected with suffering virtue, becomes historical. The prisoner leaves not only his name, but imperishable associations on his prison. But farther than what has just been stated, Madame Guyon has not said much of the place. Perhaps it could not be expected of her to do it. Secondary incidents and instrumentalities, whether for good or for evil, passed easily from her mind. She seems to have forgot both herself and others in her views of that mysterious wisdom and goodness which presides over all things, however afflicting. And hence we know more of the placid resignation of the prisoner, than we do of the attributes of the prison. She herself has told it in one of her own sweet songs, which is striking by its sim-

plicity as well as its piety ; and which we venture to give to the reader in a nearly literal translation.

A LITTLE BIRD I AM.

A little bird I am,
Shut from the fields of air ;
And in my cage I sit and sing
To Him who placed me there ;
Well pleased a prisoner to be,
Because, my God, it pleases Thee.

Nought have I else to do ;
I sing the whole day long ;
And He, whom most I love to please,
Doth listen to my song ;
• He caught and bound my wandering wing,
But still He bends to hear me sing.

Thou hast an ear to hear ;
A heart to love and bless ;
And, though my notes were e'er so rude,
Thou would'st not hear the less ;
Because Thou knowest as they fall,
That LOVE, sweet LOVE, inspires them all.

My cage confines me round ;
Abroad I cannot fly ;
But, though my wing is closely bound,
My heart's at liberty.
My prison walls cannot control
The flight, the freedom of the soul.

Oh ! it is good to soar,
These bolts and bars above,
To Him whose purpose I adore
Whose providence I love ;
And in Thy mighty Will to find
The joy, the freedom of the mind.

CHAPTER III.

Occupations in prison. Commences the history of her life. Remarks upon this work. Her feelings in her imprisonment. Her labors and usefulness while there. Letter to one of her religious friends. Visited by an ecclesiastical Judge, and a Doctor of the Sorbonne. Examined by them. Her feelings. Poem.

HER physical constitution was feeble, but her mental purpose was strong. Her full heart, strong in faith and love, sustained her suffering body. It did not follow, because she was a prisoner, that she was idle. La Combe, before he had ceased to be her spiritual Director, had imposed upon her the duty of putting in writing the incidents of her life. She had probably made a beginning before this time; but finding herself, in these mysterious arrangements of providence, in a situation which necessarily suspended, in a considerable degree, her personal efforts for the good of others, she now began this work in earnest. The greater part of her autobiography she wrote during her imprisonment in the convent of St. Marie.

2. It was not her expectation, at the time of writing it, that this work would be published. La Combe had required her to be very particular; and not supposing it would be seen by many beyond the circle of her personal friends, she was more minute than would otherwise have been necessary. So that her Life, as it was originally written, is less profitable than it would have been, if it had been more select.

Writing, too, almost solely from memory, and under great disadvantages, there is a want of exactness in the arrangement of her statements, besides frequent repetitions. If, therefore, we may properly speak of it as a valuable work, as I think we may, it is less valuable considered in itself, than as furnishing materials for others. Without this book, considered as a repository of materials, the life of Madame Guyon would probably never have been written; we should never have known the interesting record of her labors and trials; but published just as it is, without re-adjustment, without selection, and without comment, it seems to me to do but poor justice either to her labors, her character, or her opinions.

3. She speaks, in her Autobiography, of her state of mind, when she first received notice that she was to be shut up. No sorrow or misgiving entered her heart. On the contrary, God was pleased to give her not only entire resignation, but a triumphant and joyful peace; so much so that it shone on her countenance, and attracted the notice of the person who brought the king's order, and also of her friends who were with her. The same delightful peace continued after her imprisonment.

The doctrines of Sanctification, to which she was so much attached, involve principles which are peculiarly adapted to such a situation. They strike at the root of all earthly desire, as they do of all earthly support. They annihilate times and places, prosperities and adversities, friendships and enmities, by making them all equal in the will of God. They take away the differences of things which are external, whatever they may be, making the crooked straight and the rough plain, by a power flowing from the unity and permanency within. So that to Joseph the prison and the throne are the same, to Daniel the lion's den and the monarch's palace are the same, because they have that in their believ-

ing and sanctified hearts, which subjects the outward to the inward, and because the inward has become incorporated by faith in that Eternal Will, in which all things have their origin and their end.

4. It was in accordance with the wishes of those who had been the instruments of her imprisonment, that her captivity should be very strict ; but still it appears, that persons were allowed to see her from time to time. And what is worthy of notice, but few persons visited her without being religiously impressed by her appearance and her conversation. Many of her poems also were written during her confinement in this prison. And if we recollect that she still kept up a written correspondence with her religious friends and others, and add also the force of her example, in thus willingly and triumphantly suffering for Christ's cause, I think we have reason for saying, that probably no period of her life was really more useful than this.

5. Among those with whom she had become acquainted since her return to Paris, and for whose religious good she had begun to labor previous to her imprisonment, were a number of ladies, and a few persons of the other sex, who held a distinguished position in society. Of the rank and character of some of these persons we have already had occasion to speak particularly. It must have been a trial to her feelings, which nothing but the highest faith could have sustained, to have been thus suddenly cut off from a field of labor so promising. It was some compensation, however, both to herself and to those whom she was thus compelled to leave, that she was permitted to write to them. The following letter, which illustrates the nature of her efforts by means of written correspondence, when she was not permitted to labor in any other way, was addressed to one of these ladies.

“Madame,

“I can assure you, that it is a great pleasure to me to witness the manifestations of God’s mercy towards you, and to see the progress of your soul in religion. It is my prayer, that God may bring to a completion the work which He has begun within you. No doubt he will, if you continue faithful. Oh, the unspeakable happiness, Madame, of belonging to Jesus Christ! This is the true balm, which sweetens the pains and sorrows that are inseparable from the present life.

“In availing myself of the liberty you have given me of making such suggestions as seem to me applicable to your situation, you will pardon me for saying, in the first place, that you do not appear to me to be sufficiently advanced in inward experience, to practise silent prayer for a long time together. This is an important form of prayer; but the ready practice of it implies the existence of religious habits, which are not fully formed at once. I think it would be better to combine ejaculatory prayer with silent prayer. Let such ejaculations as the following; *O my God, let me be wholly Thine! — Let me love Thee purely for thyself, for Thou art infinitely lovely! — O! my God, be Thou my all! Let every thing else be as nothing to me;* and other short ejaculations like these be offered up from the heart. But I think, that such ejaculations should be separated from each other, and *intervenèd*, if I may so express it, by short intervals of silence; so that you may delay upon the ejaculation, and may experience at the time those inward exercises and affections, which are appropriate to the words uttered. And in this way you will be gradually forming and strengthening the important habit of silent prayer.

“And this suggests another practical remark. When you are reading on religious subjects during any part of the day, you would do well to stop now and then for a few moments, and betake yourself to meditation and prayer in silence;

especially when any portion of what you read touches and affects you. The object of this is to let the reading have its appropriate effect. Such reading will be very likely to edify and nourish the soul. The soul needs nourishment, as well as the body. Its religious state, without something which is appropriate to its support, withers and decays.

“Do not resort to austerities or self-inflicted mortifications. They may do for others, but not for you. Your feeble health does not allow of it. If it were otherwise, if you had a strong and sound body, — and especially, which is the great point in connection with physical mortifications, if you suffered yourself to be ruled by your appetites, I should probably give different advice. A system of abstinence and of physical repression could hardly fail, in that case, to be beneficial.

“But there is another mortification, Madame, which I must earnestly recommend. Mortify whatever remains of your corrupt affections and your disorderly will. Mortify your peculiar tastes, your propensities, your inclinations. Among other things, learn to suffer with patience and resignation those frequent and severe pains, which God sees fit to impose upon you. Learn also, from the motive of love to God, to suffer all that may happen of contradiction, ill manners, or negligence in those who serve you. In a word, mortify yourself by bearing at all times, in a Christian temper, whatever thwarts the natural life, whatever is displeasing and troublesome to the natural sensibilities; and thus place yourself in union and fellowship with the sufferings of Christ. By taking these bitter remedies, you will honor the Cross. And especially if you mortify yourself and die, in your inward experience, to every thing which is remarkable and showy. Learn the great lesson of becoming a little one, of becoming nothing. He does well, who, in fasting from other things which the appe-

tites improperly crave; lives upon mere bread and water; but he does better, who, in fasting from his own desires and his own will, lives upon God's will alone. This is what St. Paul calls *the circumcision of the heart*.

"I would advise you to receive the Eucharist as often as you conveniently can. Jesus Christ, who is presented to us in that ordinance, is the *bread* of life, which nourishes and quickens our souls. I shall not fail to remember you, when I am worshipping before Him; greatly desiring as I do, that he may set up his kingdom in your heart, and may reign and rule in you.

"J. M. B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON."

6. The monotony of her prison was varied by a number of incidents. She had been in prison a short time, perhaps a few weeks, when she was visited by Monsieur Charon, a judge of the ecclesiastical court, and Monsieur Pirot, a Doctor of the Sorbonne. They came with authority to subject her to a formal examination, upon the results of which it seemed probable, that the continuance of her imprisonment would depend. With this object, although it is not improbable, that the examinations had secret reference to the treatment of La Combe, as well as to herself, they repeated their visit four different times. We have the substance of what occurred at these interviews as follows.

"*Judge*. Is it true, as has been alleged, that when you went from France to Savoy, you went with Father La Combe, and that you went with him as an associate and follower?

"*Madame Guyon*. To this interrogation I reply, that, when I left France, La Combe was not in France, and had not been there for about ten years; and therefore to have gone with him either as an associate, or in any other capacity, would have been an impossibility.

"*Judge*. Was La Combe instrumental in teaching you the doctrines of the inward life?

“*Madame Guyon.* In the principles of religion, in their experimental form, I had the happiness of being taught in childhood, and in early youth. I was not taught them by Father La Combe. I first knew La Combe in the year 1671, more than fifteen years ago, and long before I went to Savoy. He called at my house at that time, being introduced to me by my half-brother, Father La Mothe.

“*Judge.* Did not La Combe have some participation in the authorship of the little book, entitled the Short and Easy Method of Prayer?

“*Madame Guyon.* He did not. I wrote it in the city of Grenoble. La Combe was not there at the time. When I wrote it, I had no expectation that it would be printed. One of my friends, a counsellor of Grenoble, came into my room, and, seeing it on my table, examined it. Being pleased with it, and thinking it would be useful, he asked my consent to its being published. I consented; and also, at his suggestion, wrote a Preface to it, and divided it into chapters.

“*Judge.* Are we not to understand you in that book as discountenancing the use of the prescribed prayers of the church, and even of the Lord's Prayer?

“*Madame Guyon.* So far from discountenancing the use of the Lord's Prayer, it will be seen, on consulting the book, that I have explained the manner of using or repeating that prayer to the best effect. It is true, that I have discountenanced the use of the Lord's Prayer and of all other prescribed prayers, as a mere *matter of form*, but for no other reason. It is not the mere repetition of prayers which renders us acceptable to God, but the possession of those dispositions of heart, which the forms of prayer are intended to express.

“*Judge.* I have before me a letter, addressed to Father Francis, of the Order of Minims, in which you express your determination to hold religious meetings or conferences; and

that finding it dangerous, since La Combe's imprisonment, to hold them at your own house, you will hold them in other streets and houses, but in a private manner.

“Madame Guyon. What I have done, is probably well known. What I intend to do, is necessarily lodged in the bosom of Him whose will is my only law. But as for that letter, it is a forgery.

“Judge. The letter must have been written by some one. By whom was it written? And what reason have you to think that it is a forgery?

“Madame Guyon. I cannot speak of its authorship with certainty; but I have my opinions. It is the same which was laid before our king Louis, and which had its effect in my imprisonment. I suppose it was written by the scrivener Gautier, whose agency in these transactions is not unknown to me. It is not in my hand-writing, as can be easily shown. Besides, it is addressed to Father Francis, as being in Paris. But it is known, and can be proved, that he was not at that time in Paris, but in the city of Amiens; and that he left Paris for Amiens on the 1st of September. The letter is dated, you will perceive, on the 30th of October. The gentleman who has the charge of the education of my sons will aid me in obtaining proof on these points, if you wish it.

“Judge. I suppose you are aware that your opinions, those which are expressed in your writings, and those which are uttered on other occasions, are regarded as heretical. I will not go into particulars. I will not attempt to prove what has been said, either by quotations or by facts, but should be pleased to hear what you have to say on this charge, made in this general way.

“Madame Guyon. To declare me a heretic, does not make me one. I was born in the bosom of the Catholic church, and brought up in its principles, which I still love. It is hardly necessary for me to say, that I make no preten-

sions to learning; that I am not a Doctor of the Sorbonne; and it is possible that I have sometimes uttered expressions, which require theological emendation; and so far I readily submit myself to the correction of those who have the proper authority. I am ready to give my life for the church. But I wish to say that I am a Catholic in the substance and spirit, and not merely in the form and letter. The Catholic church never intended, that her children should remain dead in her forms; but that her forms should be the expression of the life within them, received through faith in Christ. You will excuse me for saying further, that, in doing what I have, I had no expectation or desire of forming a separate party. But I wished to see the great principles of the inward life revived. It did not occur to me, that I was to be regarded as a heretic and separatist; but I thought I might be permitted, in the sphere which Providence had assigned me, to labor for the revival of the work of God in the soul. It was my design to aid souls, and not to injure them.

“Judge. I understand, that, besides your Short Method of Prayer, you have written commentaries on the Scriptures. I should be glad to see them and have the opportunity of examining them.

“Madame Guyon. I acknowledge, that I have written such remarks or commentaries on various parts of the Scriptures. They are not here. I left them in the care of a person, whom I do not wish to mention at present. When I am freed from my imprisonment, I will obtain them, and place them in your hands.”

7. Such was the substance, and for the most part the precise terms, of these examinations, so far as they are briefly given by Madame Guyon. Examinations, which were not very formal, and the precise object of which it is somewhat difficult to see. They were probably designed in part, to obtain something more decisive and satisfactory

against La Combe, whose imprisonment was for life. They were intended to have a bearing also, in some way or other, upon the prisoner herself. Monsieur Charon, who felt his official responsibility, retired in silence. The Doctor of the Sorbonne, whose position perhaps allowed a little more freedom, dropped a word favorable to Madame Guyon. But, sustained as she was by the principles which made God the universal centre, she made but little account, in itself considered, either of human friendship or of human enmity. Whether it was the object of these examinations to furnish a basis for the termination or the continuance of her imprisonment, it was all the same. It was enough for her to know, that those who had imprisoned her, and who continued her in prison, went no farther than God had permitted them. Regarding it as God's will, that her imprisonment should be made the occasion of the development of human weakness and passion on the one hand, and of the Christian graces which God had given her on the other, she found in this view of her situation a degree of support and consolation, which made even her prison a happy place.

We have already had occasion to say, that she was entirely resigned and happy, when she came there ; and she gives us to understand emphatically, that she did not cease to be so afterwards. There were alternations of feeling undoubtedly. Sometimes darkness and sorrow settled in what may be termed the outside of her system, in her shattered nerves and bleeding sensibilities ; but faith unchangeable, which always brings God to those who have it, made light and joy in the centre. When none came to see her with whom she might converse, she wrote ; when tired of writing the incidents of her life, she corresponded with her absent friends ; when opportunities for doing good in this manner did not present themselves, she solaced the hours of deprivation and solitude by writing poems. It is to this period, that we are

to ascribe the origin of the little poem, beginning, *Si c'est un crime que d'aimer*. The sentiment of this poem, which breathes a pleasing spirit of religious affection, may be found in the following stanzas.

LOVE CONSTITUTES MY CRIME.

Love constitutes my crime ;
For this they keep me here,
Imprisoned thus so long a time
For Him I hold so dear ;
And yet I am, as when I came,
The subject of this holy flame.

How can I better grow !
How from my own heart fly !
Those who imprison me should know
True love can never die.
Yea, tread and crush it with disdain,
And it will live and burn again.

And am I then to blame ?
He's always in my sight ;
And having once inspired the flame,
He always keeps it bright.
For this they smite me and reprove,
Because I cannot cease to love.

What power shall dim its ray,
Dropp'd burning from above !
Eternal Life shall ne'er decay ;
God is the life of love.
And when its source of life is o'er,
And only then, 't will shine no more.

CHAPTER IV.

Her views in relation to the continuance of her imprisonment. Her spirit of inward peace and triumph. Inward trials. Spirit of forgiveness towards her enemies. Attempts made to involve her daughter in a marriage arrangement. The king favorable to the plan, but requires Madame Guyon's consent. The subject proposed to her with the view of obtaining her consent by M. Charon. Her reply. Unfavorable state of things. Writes to Père La Chaise. Sickness. Renewed trials. Remarks on the dispensation of the Holy Ghost. A Poem.

“THE Prioress of the Convent,” says Madame Guyon, “asked the ecclesiastical judge, who had put to me the questions of examination, how the affair stood. He signified, that things were in a favorable way, and that I should be discharged at an early period. And this became the common opinion and the common conversation in relation to it. But as for myself, I had a presentiment to the contrary. But this did not depress me. My mind was free. The confinement of my body made me relish my mental liberty the better. The satisfaction and even joy, which I had in being a prisoner and in suffering for Christ, were inexpressible.

“The 19th of March, in particular, was a memorable day. On that day the Nun who acted as my jailer, granted me the liberty, as a special favor, of going into the garden attached to the Convent. In a retired part of the garden was a little Oratory or place of prayer, which was the more

calculated to favor devotional feelings by having a cross planted in it, with a carved image of the dying Saviour suspended upon it. It was there, as I was alone in acts of worship, that God was with me, and blessed me much. During the whole of that day, my mind had more of heaven than of earth in it. Language cannot express it."

2. On the 25th of March, six days after the time of which we are now speaking, she records the existence of a very different state of mind, but perhaps a state not less profitable. God was pleased on that day, and for a number of days following, to leave her in a state of extreme destitution and depression. Her lonely situation, her separation from her daughter, the opposition she had met with, the apparent defeat of her plans and anticipations for the good of souls, could not fail to be present to her thoughts. The pains, which she thus endured, were probably enhanced by her physical sufferings, from which, although we have said but little respecting them, she was not often exempt for a long time together. These suggestions and influences were permitted to gather around her mind in such a manner as to furnish occasion for temptations severe and heavy. God saw fit, in his wisdom and goodness, that Satan should try her once more. All human and all heavenly support, so far as it was perceptible and consolatory, was for some days taken away. She was in the greatest sorrow of spirit. "It seemed," she says, "as if the Saviour designed that I should experience something of that unmeasured suffering of spirit, which is denominated the *Agony of the Garden*. But He, who permitted her to be tried, did not permit her to sink. In the absence of consolation, and in the loss of all other support, she was enabled to hold on by *faith alone*. Although, to her troubled and overwhelmed spirit, God seemed to be displeased and angry with her, she did not cease to have confidence in him for a moment. She

believed, and was triumphant. Satan fled discomfited ; and the calm peace and joy of her mind returned.

3. Her feelings towards those who had injured her are worthy of notice. — “I had not any feeling of resentment,” she says, “against my persecutors. I was not insensible to the sorrows which they occasioned me, nor ignorant, as I think, of the spirit by which they were actuated ; but I had no other feelings towards them, so far as I can judge, than those of forbearance and kindness. The reflection, that they did only what God permitted them to do, which enabled me always to keep God in sight, supported me much. Jesus Christ, and holy men in various ages of the church, have not only suffered, but have known well the evil dispositions of those who persecuted them ; but they knew also, that these men had *‘no power except what was given them from above.’* John xix. 11. When we suffer, we should always remember, that God inflicts the blow. Wicked men, it is true, are not unfrequently his instruments ; and the fact of their instrumentality does not diminish, but simply developes their wickedness. But when we are so mentally disposed, that we love the strokes we suffer, regarding them as coming from God, and as expressions of what he sees best for us, we are then in the proper state to look forgivingly and kindly upon the subordinate instrument which he permits to smite us.”

4. We have already had occasion to notice, that her daughter was not permitted to remain with her. She was not even permitted to know, for a considerable time, where her daughter was placed. Her feelings, therefore, were greatly tried, when she learned, after some time, that interested individuals (it is probable that her relative La Mothe was one of them) had gotten possession of her daughter’s person, and were endeavoring to induce her, left as she was without the aid and advice of a mother, to pledge her-

self thus early in life to a marriage. In the disposition and settlement of her father's estate, a considerable amount of property had been settled upon this child. The hope of getting possession of this property was probably one of the motives in this singular and ungenerous movement.

5. This beloved daughter was the child of Madame Guyon's religious, still more than of her natural expectations and hopes. Much had she labored and prayed for the renovation and spiritual perfection of her nature. Her sorrow, therefore, and her trial of mind, must have been greatly increased, when she learned, that the individual who was thus proposed as her daughter's husband, was a man who had scarcely a tincture of Christianity, being abandoned both in his principles of belief and in his practical morals.

It was not designed probably, that the proposed marriage should take place immediately; but only that she should become so far involved by promises, and perhaps by misled and enthralled affections, that the expected result would certainly follow, and perhaps at no distant period. The agents in this transaction carried the matter before the king, who frequently, from various motives, took a personal interest in the domestic arrangements of his subjects. In this affair he was so far imposed upon as to express a willingness and even desire, that the proposed betrothment should take place. He was willing, also, that his desire should be known, and should have all the influence which would naturally result from it; but he had so much remains of kingly honor and pride as to insist, that Madame Guyon's consent must first be obtained.

6. The king's views and wishes were conveyed to Madame Guyon through the instrumentality of M. Charon, the ecclesiastical judge, with whom the reader already has some acquaintance. A number of persons were present at this interview. Among others were the Mother Superior of the

convent, and the gentleman who acted as guardian to Madame Guyon's children. Charon stated to her, so far as was necessary to have a proper understanding of it, the arrangement which was proposed; he urged the desirableness of it; he communicated the wishes of the king; and concluded with saying, that, if she would consent to the betrothment of her daughter to the gentleman proposed, the Marquis of Chanvalon, she should be set free from prison within eight days. The reply of Madame Guyon is worthy of notice. "God allows suffering, but never allows wrong. I see clearly that it is his will, that I should remain in prison, and endure the pains which are connected with it; and I am entirely content that it should be so. I can never buy my liberty at the expense of sacrificing my daughter."

7. After this, things looked more unfavorably than they had previously done in relation to the continuance of her imprisonment. Conversation, which had predicted her speedy release, suddenly assumed a different character. "I was now told," she says, "that my persecutors had the upper hand; and the reason assigned was, that they had succeeded in convincing the king, that I was guilty of everything which had been alleged against me. And hence I naturally thought that I must be a prisoner *all the rest of my days*." And it is obvious that she had some grounds for this opinion. The influence of M. de Harlai, archbishop of Paris, was very great and decisive in this matter; and that influence, whatever might have been the views and wishes of the king at this time, was entirely against her. He declared openly, that there was no hope for her, except in the renouncement of her views, and in repentance for the course she had pursued. If she would confess herself wrong and criminal, and make retractions and confessions, she could be freed; otherwise not.

8. In this state of things, she wrote a letter, giving some

account of her situation, to the celebrated Père La Chaise, confessor and religious adviser of the king, a man of ability, and who was understood to have influence with his royal master. She took this course, not because she herself anticipated favorable results from it. She was so entirely resigned to the yoke of God, whatever it might be, that she felt afraid to shake it off by means of any mere human instrumentality. Some of her friends could not understand fully this entire trust in God. "A friend of mine," she says, "urged me to write to Father La Chaise, telling me, that I ought not to wait for God to do every thing, without doing myself what was proper. Such a course would be tempting God." It was out of deference, therefore, to the opinions of others, and that she might not appear unduly regardless of their wishes and feelings, that she wrote the letter; not going, in what she wrote, much into particulars; but denying in general terms the charges which were brought against her, and respectfully soliciting his friendly interposition. The letter is as follows.

LETTER TO PÈRE LA CHAISE, CONFESSOR TO LOUIS
FOURTEENTH.

"Reverend Father,

"It is not frequently the case, that I bring my troubles before others. And certain I am, that, on the present occasion, if my enemies had limited their attacks to the liberty of my person and to my reputation, I should have remained in silence. But they have not only shut me in prison, and attempted to blast my honor, but they have insisted that I have failed in respect for the doctrines of the Catholic church, and have denounced me as a *heretic*.

"Permit me to say, Reverend Father, in soliciting your kindness and protection, that I ask nothing which shall be found inconsistent with justice and the truth. The judge of

the Ecclesiastical Court has been in my prison ; and has examined the statements and papers which were laid before him against me, and has pronounced them false. But these related chiefly to my private character. In regard to my doctrines, he required some explanations ; but without taking the responsibility of pronouncing them *heretical*. On the contrary, he seemed rather to be satisfied with what I said. I offered also to submit to his inspection all my writings.

“ Have I not reason, then, to think that it is something besides my alleged want of Catholic Orthodoxy, which keeps me in prison ? I am willing to submit myself to a *disinterested* tribunal ; but I have reason to think, that my persecutors, some of them at least, have their private aims. Private interests have mingled in those proceedings which have brought me and which keep me here. I think, Reverend Father, that it would be easy for me to show by incontestable proofs, that this is the case, if I had the opportunity to do it. How can it be otherwise, when they come to me with *menaces* ? They ask my compliance and consent in transactions, which my feelings as a Christian and a mother require me to resist ; and they threaten me with a continuance of my troubles, if I refuse to do what my conscience compels me not to do.

“ Your position, Reverend Father, has led me to appeal to you. May I not ask, that you will allow yourself to look into this subject, and to be thoroughly informed in regard to it. In proclaiming the selfish ends of some of my enemies, and in asserting my own innocence, I think I say no more than I shall be able to make evident.

“ I can only add, that I shall be extremely grateful for any attention and aid which you may be able to render me.

“ JEANNE MARIE B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

Speaking of this letter, she says, "I never could find that the letter produced any good effect, but rather the reverse. It was natural that La Chaise should consult with the archbishop on the subject, who assured him that I was very criminal. Counterfeit letters and papers also were shown him, which had an unpropitious influence. So that this effort came to nothing." Indeed, she informs us, that, contrary to the opinions of her friends, she had at first but little expectations from it. She delighted in looking upon God alone as her true Liberator; and God's time of deliverance had not yet come.

It was at this time, that a report was circulated, probably without much foundation, that she was to be removed to another place of imprisonment, and placed under the immediate inspection of La Mothe, who was a severe man, and much incensed against her. This report was calculated to excite some feeling. "Some of my friends," she says, "wept bitterly at the hearing of it; but such was my state of acquiescence and resignation, that it failed to draw any tears from me. My state, so far as I myself was concerned, might perhaps be described in those expressions of Scripture, which require Christians to be *careful for nothing*. There appeared to be in me, then, as I find to be in me now, such an entire loss of what regards myself, that any of my own interests gave me little pain or pleasure; *ever wanting to will or wish for myself only the very thing which God does*. An ignominious death, with which I have so often been threatened, makes not any alteration in me. Sometimes the idea crosses my mind, that it is possible, after all that has passed, that I may still be cast off from God's presence; but even this thought, terrible and overwhelming as it is, does not take away the deep peace and satisfaction which I feel in connection with the fulfilment of God's will. As God will always be infinitely happy, it seems to me, that there is

not any thing, in time or eternity, which can hinder me from being infinitely happy, even in hell itself; since my happiness is in God, and in the fulfilment of God's will alone. Such a state of mind would change hell itself, considered merely as a place of suffering, into heaven."

10. It was now the month of June, 1688. The small room, in which she was shut up, was so situated that it admitted the rays of the sun during a considerable part of the day. "The air of the place," she says, "where I was enclosed, was so confined and heated, that it seemed like a stove." Her feeble constitution sunk under it, and she was taken dangerously ill. The gentleman who had the guardianship of her children, a counsellor-in-law, and apparently a man holding a respectable position in society, stated her situation to the archbishop, and made some reasonable requests, having relation to her present debilitated and dangerous state. Harlai, being offended at what he considered her obstinacy, received the application with indifference and almost with ridicule. "Very sick," he exclaimed; "very sick, indeed, I suppose, at being shut up within four walls, after what she has done." He granted nothing.

11. She was favored, however, after a time, through the sympathy of those who had the immediate charge of the convent, in obtaining the assistance of a maid-servant, which had hitherto been denied; and also the aid of a physician and surgeon. It was done, it is true, in violation of the orders of her imprisonment. But Madame Guyon remarks, "It was God who put it into their hearts, and gave them the determination to do it; for had I remained as I was, without any proper attendance and assistance, I must have died. I certainly think I may call the treatment, which I experienced under these circumstances, unkind and unprecedented. My enemies were numerous and clamorous, and seemed to rejoice in the anticipation of my death. It was

not merely death which was before me, but *disgrace*. My friends were afraid lest I should die ; for by my death my memory would have been covered with reproach, and my enemies would have triumphed ; but God would not suffer them to have that joy. After bringing me down, he was pleased to raise me up again."

12. One of the charges brought against her was, that she did not worship the Saints, and particularly the virgin Mary. On what principles she maintained the consistency of her Catholic profession with her refusal to worship Saints, and the Virgin, is not entirely obvious ; but undoubtedly she was able to do it to her own satisfaction ; regarding, as she did, the Church, at that time, as being in some things perverted and in others remiss, though not hopelessly so. She refers to the subject in the following terms :—" One day," she says, " considering in my mind why it was, that I could not, like others, call upon any of the saints in prayer, though closely united to them in God, the thought occurred to me, [and she merely mentions it as a thought or suggestion, and not as a well-considered and received belief,] that *domestics*, in other words those in a merely justified state, the beginners in the Christian life, the *servants* rather than the *sons* of God, might possibly have some need of the influence and intercession of the saints ; while the *spouse*, [by which term she means the truly sanctified soul,] obtains every thing she needs without such helps. God, regarding such a soul as purchased by the blood of Christ, and as brought into union with himself, and sustained in union by Christ's merits, neither seeks nor accepts any other influence, or any other intercession. It is his nature to bless her, because she is made a partaker of himself. His infinite spirit of love is poured out upon those who are thus in divine union. Oh ! how little known is the holy Author of all good !"

" They examine my actions," she says again. " They cry

out, that I do not repeat the prescribed prayers, and that I have no devotion for the Holy Virgin. O divine Mary ! thou knowest how my heart is singly devoted to God ; and thou knowest the union which he has formed between us in himself. They blame me for not worshipping thee. All that is left to me to say is, that my will is lost in the will of my heavenly Father, and that I can do nothing but what he directs.”

13. Soon after her recovery from her sickness in prison, she experienced another trial. The proposition of her daughter's betrothment, which she had once generously refused at the price of the continuance of her own imprisonment, was renewed. Again, as in the first instance, a number of persons were assembled together in the room in which she was confined. She names Charon, the judge in ecclesiastical cases, also the Doctor of the Sorbonne, Monsieur Pirot, who had been present at the private examinations already mentioned, La Mothe, and the person who acted as guardian of her children. The terms of the renewed proposition were the same as before, namely, that her consent to the proposed arrangement should be followed by her release from prison ; but circumstances had not altered, and her answer was the same, *that she would not purchase her liberty at the expense of sacrificing her daughter*. The answer could not fail to be unpleasant and unsatisfactory to those who were so much interested in carrying this arrangement through ; but they paid her the compliment of saying, that her treatment of them, under circumstances so embarrassing, was characterized by the highest propriety and courtesy.

14. An effort, also, was once more made by her enemies to draw from her some retraction of her opinions, and some acknowledgment of wrong-doing. “ They wanted such retractions and confessions,” she says, “ in order that they might serve as a proof of my guilt to posterity. Any thing

of this kind, under my own hand, would be an evidence, that they *were right in imprisoning me*. And that was not all. Any such papers, drawn up as they wished them to be drawn up, would tend to vindicate their sullied reputation in another respect, and to convince the world, that they had properly and justly caused the imprisonment of Father La Combe. They went so far as to make alluring promises on the one hand, and to use violent threats on the other, in order to induce me to write, *that La Combe was a deceiver*. Neither their threats nor promises had the influence which they desired. I answered that I was content to suffer whatever it should please God to order or permit; and that I would sooner not only be imprisoned, but would rather die upon the scaffold, than utter the falsehoods they proposed."

15. She makes some remarks in connection with these transactions, which I think worthy of quoting, because they involve a distinction in religious things which is not often made. "During the period," she says, "of the Old Testament dispensations, there were several of the Lord's martyrs, who suffered for asserting the existence of the one true God, and for trusting in him. The doctrine of the one true God, in distinction from the heathen doctrine of a multiplicity of gods, was the test by which conflicting opinions were tried: and in supporting which there were some who were martyrs to this important truth.

"At a later period another great truth was proclaimed, that of *Jesus Christ crucified for sinners*. This was a truth so much at variance, either in the principle or the facts of its announcement, with men's preconceived opinions and feelings, that it naturally arrested their attention, and provoked their hostility. And accordingly, in the primitive times of the Christian church, there were those who suffered and who shed their blood for this truth.

"At the present time," she says, "there are those who

are *martyrs of the Holy Ghost*. In other words, there are those who suffer for proclaiming the great truth, that the reign of the Holy Ghost in the souls of men has come ; and especially for proclaiming their personal and entire dependence on his divine presence and influence. It is the doctrine of PURE LOVE, the doctrine of sanctification and of the Holy Ghost within us, as the Life of our own life, which is to be the test of spiritual perception and fidelity in the present and in future times. The Spirit of God, in the language of the prophet Joel, is to be poured *out upon all flesh*.

“Those, who have suffered for the doctrine of Jesus Christ *crucified for the world's sins*, have been truly glorious in the reproach and sorrows they have endured ; but those who have suffered, and are destined to suffer, for the doctrine of the coming and of the triumphant reign of the Holy Spirit in men's souls, will not be less so. The doctrine of Christ crucified as an atoning sacrifice is essentially triumphant. Satan has ceased, in a great degree, to exercise his power against those who receive and believe it. But, on the contrary, he has attacked and will attack, both in body and in spirit, those who advocate the dominion of the Holy Spirit, and who have felt his celestial impulse and power in their own hearts. O Holy Spirit, a Spirit of love ! let me ever be subjected to thy will ; and as a leaf is moved before the wind, so let my soul be influenced and moved by the breath of thy wisdom. And as the impetuous wind breaks down all that resists it, even the towering cedars which stand in opposition ; so may the Holy Ghost, operating within me, smite and break down every thing which opposes him.”

16. Upon these views, which indicate the intellectual insight, as well as the deep inward experience, of this remarkable woman, I think it may be proper to add one or two remarks. At the time of its first announcement, no

doctrine could be more important than that of the divine unity, considered in distinction from that of polytheism. Like many other great truths, it was at first contested; it had its advocates and martyrs; but it prevailed.

The recognition of God, as one God, gave rise to the inquiry, — How does this one God, who in being one combines in himself all that is good and true, and how *must* he, from his very nature, regard all sin; and on what principles does he forgive it? The question is solved in the announcement of the other doctrine to which she refers, namely, that of *Christ crucified*. “Without the shedding of blood there is no remission.” “*He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities.*” God not only hates sin, but he punishes it. He has no more moral right or power to detach suffering from sin, than he has to detach peace and joy from holiness. The connection between them is fixed, inseparable, and can no more change than the divine nature can change. Where there is sin, there must be suffering; and suffering flowing from sin, and in consequence of sin, is something more than suffering; it is PUNISHMENT. But in the mystery of the mission, person, and sufferings of his Son, (a mystery which even the angels unavailingly desire to look into,) God has so taken this suffering upon himself, that, without any violation of the claims of unchangeable rectitude, he can now extend forgiveness to his rebellious creatures, take them once more to his bosom, and bid them live for ever. This great doctrine also has had its martyrs; and although the contest is not entirely ended, it may be said, I think, to have had its day of triumph.

But there is another great truth, of which it may at length be said, that ITS HOUR HAS COME; — namely, that of God, in the person of the inward Teacher and Comforter, dwelling in the hearts of his people, and changing them by his divine operation into the holy and beautiful image of him

who shed his blood for them. Christ, received by faith, came into the world to save men from the penalty of sin; but it has not been so fully understood, or at least not so fully recognized, that he came also to save them from sin itself. The time in which this latter work shall develop itself is sometimes spoken of as the period of the reign of the Holy Ghost. It is now some time since the voice has gone forth; an utterance from the Eternal Mind, not as yet generally received, but which will never cease to be repeated; — Put away all sin; Be like Christ; BE YE HOLY.

In announcing the coming of the dispensation of the Holy Ghost, in proclaiming the doctrine of entire sanctification, some have already suffered, and others may perhaps suffer in time to come. Until the secret history of dungeons is written, it will not be known how many in France, in Spain, in Italy, have suffered as “martyrs of the Holy Ghost.” But that probably will never be done. And there is a reason for it, which does not exist in other cases. The martyrs of the Holy Ghost, themselves the subjects of the inward power which they advocate, suffer and even die *in silence*. They make no cry; they know that what they suffer, whatever may be the guilt of the instruments of it, is one of the incidents in the developments of that Eternal Will which will never fail to be accomplished, and can never cease to be loved. And hence they would not have it to be otherwise than it is; and without lifting up their voice, except in prayer for their enemies, they die as Christ died.

17. The kingdom of the Holy Ghost has come. Its beginnings are feeble, it is true. We see but here and there a single gleam of that glorious day which shall shine upon the world, and make “all nations into one.” But the signs of its full approach are too marked, too evident, to be mistaken. There will be opposition from its enemies, and mistakes made by its friends. Happy will it be, if its friends shall

remember, that it is a kingdom which *comes without observation*. The kingdom of the Holy Ghost may be described emphatically as the kingdom of *Peace*; of peace inward and outward, of peace individual and social. It is those in whom this divine kingdom is set up, whom Christ describes as the "*little ones*;" men who move humbly and quietly in the sphere in which Providence has placed them; the meek ones of the earth. Their light, which shines in their example, illuminates without attracting attention; like that of the sun, which scarcely receives our notice, while meteors are gazed at with astonishment. They are men who "resist not evil;" men that cast all their cares upon Him who "careth for them;" men who hold communion with God in that divine silence of the mind, which results from sins forgiven, from passions subdued, and from faith victorious.

Behold here the dominion of the Holy Ghost, the triumph of the true Millennium, the reign of holy love!

18. We may properly introduce here, as illustrative further of the labors of her prison, a few passages from the letters which she wrote, while she was thus shut up.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM HER PRISON.

"To ———.

"I have just received your kind letter; and I can assure you, that it has comforted me in my place of confinement, which I may perhaps call my *place of exile*. It sometimes seems to me, that I can apply to myself the expressions which occur in the Psalmist, when he found himself among those with whom he had no similarity of spirit. *Woe is me that I sojourn in Mesech; that I dwell in the tents of Kedar; my soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace.* Ps. cxx. 5. While I am kept here by the power of my enemies, I cannot help thinking of those who need spiritual

instruction. What a mysterious providence it is, which keeps me out of my place of labor, out of my *element*! It looks to me, as if there were great numbers of children who were asking for bread, and that there is scarcely any one to break it to them."

"To —.

"I think you will believe me when I say, that your soul is very precious to me. I can assure you, that there is not a day passes, in which I do not offer up prayers to the Lord for your spiritual good. If my personal toils and sacrifices could be effectual in accomplishing such an object, it seems to me that I could endure any thing, in order that you might be resigned to God without any reserve.

"It is no news to you, that I am a prisoner, and always kept under lock and key; and that, with the exception of the woman who has charge of the room in which I am shut up, I am not permitted to speak to any one either within or without, unless it be by a special arrangement. I am afflicted, although I have firm trust and rest in God. And will not one, who I know is not indifferent to my situation, impart to me the great consolation of knowing, that she has given her whole heart to the Saviour! I sometimes seek you and find you in those seasons of communion which I have with God; and it will be your own fault, if I do not find you there still more.

"The ecclesiastical judge, and Monsieur Pirot, have been in my prison, examining me in relation to my book on Prayer. I told them at once, that I had no hesitation in submitting myself and my writings to the proper ecclesiastical judicatories; and still they do not cease to put their interrogations to me in this private manner. In respect to my answers, I can only say that I answer what the Lord gives me to answer. Oh! how sad it is to see how much opposi-

tion there is to the religion of the heart ! I see and hear so much of it, that I am sometimes overwhelmed and confounded, and hardly know what I am saying or doing. I have, however, the consolation which is given to every heart that has truly found God. Nothing can really trouble such a heart, because, recognizing the will of God in every thing, it has, under all circumstances, that which it truly loves and desires.

“In regard to yourself, you will permit me to say, that I sometimes feel a degree of solicitude on your account. I must confess, that I have some fears, lest at your tender age you may be exposed to temptations, and may turn away from God. But here, as every where else, I have but one resource ; — I must resign you into God’s hands, never ceasing to entreat him, in the most earnest manner, for the good of your soul. Oh ! what a happiness it is to be thoroughly resigned to Providence ! — a resignation which constitutes the true repose of life.

“I have one word more to say. When I came here, my daughter was taken from me. Those who took her do not allow me to know where she is. You will permit me, if you can obtain a knowledge of her situation, to ask your friendly interest in her behalf. If I were a criminal condemned to death, they could not easily give more rigorous orders concerning me.”

“To ——.

“It seems, then, that M. ——, of whom we had hoped better things, has become *unstable*. The temptations of the world have shaken, and have even overcome, his religious purposes. This is discredit to him, and is afflicting to us ; but, to me at least, it is not wholly without its advantage. The more I see of the want of firmness and stability

in men, the more I am bound and fastened, as it were, to God, who is without change.

“I must confess, if the heart of her to whom I now write, were not more fully fixed in God, I should be much concerned and grieved at it. Oh my friend! aim higher and higher. What would I not suffer to see you wholly delivered from the inward power of sin! I can assure you, that without ceasing I pray to God in your behalf, that he may deliver you from the life of self in all its forms; that he himself may be your WAY and TRUTH and LIFE, and that he may establish you in the blessedness of *pure love*.

“I sometime since wrote a little book, as you perhaps know, entitled, *A Short and Easy Method of Prayer*. The publication of this book was one of the alleged causes of my confinement in this place. Since I have been here, persons have been into my prison, and have put to me some formal interrogatories in relation to the book and other matters. I have found some difficulty in answering; and have been obliged to say, or rather have found it best to say, what the Lord gave me to say at the time, without much deliberation. I have at some times, in the course of these interrogatories, been strongly inclined to answer nothing, *to be entirely silent*. I certainly have an example of such a proceeding, which it would not be discreditable to follow,—that of our blessed Saviour, who, on being interrogated before Pilate, answered not a word. If I should take the course of declining to answer the questions which may be put to me, I shall of course be regarded as entertaining erroneous opinions, and be denounced as heretical. And is even this to be regarded as among the greatest of evils? Was not our beloved Saviour looked upon and denounced in the same manner? Is it a hard matter to walk in his footsteps, and to suffer as he suffered? When I am thinking upon these things, I sometimes find my heart, in its perplexity, looking up and saying,

[in the language of the Vulgate translation of the Bible,] JUDICA ME, DEUS, ET DISCERNE CAUSAM MEAM; — *Judge me, O God! and plead my cause.*"

19. Among the other labors, in this her first imprisonment, was the writing of her Life. The greater part, but not the whole of it, was written here. Some chapters appear to have been written at a later period. And accordingly we find the following memorandum, inserted in the eighth chapter of the Third Part: —

Completed thus far, on this the 22d of August, 1688. I am now forty years of age, and in prison; a place which I love and cherish, as I find it sanctified by the Lord.

20. The poems of Madame Guyon breathe the same deeply devout spirit which pervades her other writings. As the desire is often expressed to see them, we have thought it proper to insert some of them from time to time, where it could be done without too much interruption of the narrative. The following is one of the poems, the origin of which I think we may probably ascribe to this period of her life. It is selected and re-arranged from a longer one; and is one of those which were translated by Cowper.

GOD'S GLORY AND GOODNESS.

Infinite God! thou great, unrivalled one!
Whose light eclipses that of yonder sun;
Compared with thine, how dim his beauty seems!
How quenched the radiance of his golden beams!

O God! thy creatures in one strain agree; —
All, in all times and places, speak of thee; —
Even I, with trembling heart and stammering tongue,
Attempt thy praise, and join the general song.

Almighty Former of this wondrous plan
Faintly reflected in thine image, man;

Holy and just! The greatness of whose name
Fills and supports this universal frame!

Diffused throughout infinitude of space,
Who art thyself thine own vast dwelling-place;
Soul of our soul! whom yet no sense of ours
Discerns, eluding our most active powers;—

Encircling shades attend thine awful throne;
That veil thy face, and keep thee still unknown;
Unknown, though dwelling in our inmost part,
Lord of the thoughts, and Sovereign of the heart!

Thou art my bliss! the light by which I move!
In thee, O God! dwells all that I can love.
Where'er I turn, I see thy power and grace,
Which ever watch, and bless our heedless race.

Oh! then, repeat the truth, that never tires;
No God is like the God my soul desires;
He, at whose voice heaven trembles, even he,
Great as he is, knows how to stoop to me.

Vain pageantry and pomp of earth, adieu!
I have no wish, no memory for you!
Rich in God's love, I feel my noblest pride
Spring from the sense of having nought beside.

CHAPTER V.

The 22d of August, 1688. Her mental state at that time. Efforts of her friends unavailing. Madame de Miramion. She visits the Convent of St. Marie. Becomes acquainted with Madame Guyon. Makes known her case to Madame de Maintenon, who intercedes for her with Louis Fourteenth. Madame Guyon, released from her first imprisonment by the king's order, in October 1688, after being imprisoned eight months. Resides with Madame de Miramion. Marriage of her daughter with the Count de Vaux. Notices of his family. Goes to reside with her daughter. Letters. A Poem.

“ON the 22d of August,” she says, “as I awoke in the morning, the Saviour was very distinctly present to my mind. I seemed to have a distinct apprehension of him, as surrounded by the members of the great Jewish council, who were plotting against him. I also had a remarkably distinct conception of the deep sorrow and agony of his spirit. My own situation, in its external aspects, seemed to be somewhat similar. As I thought upon this similarity, my spirit was brought into a situation somewhat like that which I appeared to see in him; and I not only experienced, in some respects, a similarity of outward treatment, but was made like him, as it seemed to me, in the deep sorrow of spirit which I endured for a short time. But, though inwardly as well as outwardly afflicted, my soul had rest in God. I knew that none but God could deliver me out of prison; and I felt satisfied that he would do it, at some future time,

by his own right hand. But in what manner he would do it, I did not know ; but was entirely willing to leave it to himself."

2. Her prospects of an immediate release varied. Sometimes they appeared favorable ; — an aspect of things which a change of circumstances would again perplex, and render doubtful. Her friends, some of whom we have already had occasion to mention as holding a high position in society, seem to have done every thing which the urgency of the case and propriety would warrant. As the ear of the king, however, was reached in other quarters and controlled by other influences, they were not able, at present, to effect any thing in her behalf. Her imprisonment continued, till it was terminated in the following manner.

3. There was a lady in Paris, Madame de Miramion, who was much distinguished for her piety and good works. It is an evidence of her high character, that she is particularly mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Marquis de Dangeau*,* as being very kind to the poor, as having aided in founding many charitable institutions, and as being especially approved and favored in her efforts by the king. This worthy and distinguished woman sometimes found it convenient to visit the convent of St. Marie. As she called there, from time to time, and visited its inmates, she could hardly fail to learn something of the personal history and of the religious experience of Madame Guyon. The Prioress and the Nuns gave her a favorable account ; so much so as to do away those unfavorable impressions which she had received, in common with others, from the current reports circulated by her enemies. Not satisfied with what she heard, she sought the personal acquaintance of Madame Guyon ; and learned more fully from her own lips, those lessons of the inward life, upon which she herself had already entered. She

* *Memoirs of the Marquis de Dangeau*, under date of April 24th, 1696.

needed no further evidence than that which was thus presented before her. She felt that the piety of Madame Guyon, rather than her crimes, had been the real source of the aspersions which had been cast upon her, and the secret cause which had brought her to a prison.

4. This lady conversed with Madame de Maintenon, whose peculiar but influential position at that time is well known to the readers of French history, in relation to the character of Madame Guyon, and the treatment she had experienced. The account, which she felt herself justified in giving, of her correct morals, piety, and labors, made a favorable impression. This impression was sustained and increased by the efforts of Madame de Maisonfort, who was a distant relative of Madame Guyon, and also by the representations of the Duchesses Beauvilliers and Chevreuse. The influence of Madame de Maintenon with Louis Fourteenth, to whom she was at this time, or at a somewhat later period, privately married, was very great. This influence, impelled by sentiments of kindness as well as of justice, she now felt it her duty to exert in favor of Madame Guyon, as she had repeatedly done in other instances for those who had innocently suffered. It is true, that she had previously felt doubts on the subject, and had perhaps entertained some prejudices in relation to Madame Guyon; but the statements made by the distinguished ladies we have mentioned, entirely decided her. Embracing the first favorable opportunity, she laid the subject before Louis; but she found his mind so fully possessed with the idea of the heresies of Madame Guyon, that she desisted for a time from her benevolent effort.

5. With that clear discernment which characterized her, she sought another opportunity, when she would be likely to bring a more powerful influence to bear. At this time, availing herself of all the information she had obtained, she succeeded in her efforts. The king, either convinced by her

statements, or yielding to her importunity, gave orders that Madame Guyon should be freed from imprisonment. The information was communicated to her by the Prioress of the Convent. The guardian of her children was present with the Prioress at this interesting moment, — a gentleman who had already given his sympathy and aid in repeated instances. They both testified great joy at this pleasing event, in which her other friends, as soon as they heard of it, warmly participated. She was released early in October, 1688; having been imprisoned a little more than eight months.

6. Madame Guyon was not insensible to a change in her situation so propitious; and, while she blessed God on her own account, she sympathized deeply and sincerely in the joy of her friends. But her own joy was mitigated and tranquillized by the principles of her higher experience. There was something in her which seemed to say, that to the soul, which cannot separate God from events, there are circumstances in which imprisonment may not be less dear than freedom. To the physical nature and to the merely natural sensibilities undoubtedly, they may be very different. But to the principle of religious Faith, which is the true life of the soul, and which in its highest exercises makes God morally one with the soul, they are the same. Her own soul, dissociating itself by faith from secondary causes, and resting in the first great Cause, thought but little of the instruments which God had employed. Her enemies had gone just so far as God permitted. It was God who had imprisoned her; it was God who had given her deliverance; and as she entered her prison with calm peace and joy, so she left it with the same feelings. She triumphed in the triumph of her enemies, no less than in the triumph of her friends; because in both cases the will of the Lord was accomplished; that will in which her soul now rested continually with resignation and delight.

“For a long time,” she says, “my soul has been entirely independent of every thing which is not God. While it recognizes the ties and the charities of life, it cannot be said, in the strict sense of the terms, to stand in need of any creature; and if it were alone in the world in its present state, it would be infinitely content, since it has ceased to find its happiness in any earthly attachments. This mortification of every desire, this disrelish and incapacity of resting in any created thing, this perfect satisfaction in God’s dealings, exempted from every private and selfish wish, is the surest proof that the soul which can be satisfied in no other way, is entirely possessed with God. And this being the case, I think I can say, that nothing but God has possession of my own soul; nothing but God occupies it and fills it.”

7. From the place of her imprisonment she went to the house of Madame de Miramion, who received her with a joy increased by the fact that God had made her an instrument in the event which occasioned it. She there met with another distinguished lady, Madame de Mont-chevreuil, who also expressed the highest satisfaction and joy at seeing her once more free. She was once more promptly received into the distinguished families with which she had been associated previously to her imprisonment, and in which she had labored. She had been restricted in her person, but she had not abandoned her principles. She had suffered from the attacks of her enemies, without being disgraced in the eyes of her friends; and those who had known her and loved her before her imprisonment, did not respect and love her the less afterwards. She was again cordially received at the houses of Beauvilliers and Chevreuse. In a short time she had an interview at St. Cyr with Madame Maintenon, who expressed in strong terms the pleasure which she felt in seeing her at liberty; and who thus commenced an acquaintance which had some important results.

Among the persons who were present at this interview were the Duchesses Bethune, Beauvilliers, and Chevreuse, and the Princess d'Harcourt; a circumstance which it would not be important to mention, except as indicating more distinctly the class of society to which she was admitted, and some portion of the field of her religious influence. She was introduced to Madame de Maintenon by the Duchess Bethune, a lady who had been personally known to her from childhood, and who was very friendly to her.

It was not long after this, that she had an interview with Monsieur de Harlai, archbishop of Paris, who had exhibited a fixed and steady interest in the continuance of her imprisonment. In the course of what passed between them, the archbishop expressed a desire, as if not altogether satisfied with his own course of conduct, that she would say as little as possible of what had taken place. The opinion had already begun to prevail, that interested motives, as well as a regard for the church, had exercised a share of influence with him. It was his own nephew, the Marquis of Chanvalon, who had been proposed as the husband of Mademoiselle Guyon; a proposition which the mother had rejected at the expense of much dissatisfaction on the part of the archbishop, as well as of a prolonged and more rigorous imprisonment.

8. As it was not convenient for her to re-establish her family immediately, she took up her residence at the house of Madame de Miramion, who had already taken such a friendly interest in her affairs. In this family every necessary attention seems to have been shown her. And as her imprisonment had neither broken her courage nor perplexed her faith, she immediately resumed her labors, wherever opportunity presented itself, in the cause, more dear to her than any other, of the restoration of souls. It is true, the watchfulness of her opposers rendered it somewhat difficult for her to continue her religious conferences or meetings

for prayer and religious conversation; but, too devoted and persevering to be foiled by ordinary obstacles, she neither ceased to make efforts, nor did her efforts cease to be availing.

9. It was at this period that her labors assumed a more limited and perhaps a more exclusive form. In the earlier periods of her life, she had labored to do good in various ways. But at this time the question of a higher inward life, the question of sanctification, (perhaps more frequently expressed by the phrase *PURE* love, that is to say, love not *disinterested* but *UNSELFISH*,) was agitated very widely, and with great interest, among many persons. Can I so live to God as to be free from condemnation under all circumstances;—can I love God with all my heart, was the practical problem to which many humble and inquiring minds addressed themselves. It was persons in this situation who especially sought the acquaintance and assistance of Madame Guyon. And such cases had become so much multiplied, that she now thought it her duty to give to them her special and perhaps exclusive attention. It is to this state of things that she refers in the following passage.

10. “What sufferings,” such is the import of some remarks which she makes, “have I not endured in laboring for the souls of others!—sufferings, however, which have never broken my courage, nor diminished my ardor. When God was pleased to call me to Christ’s mission, which is a mission of peace and love to the sinful and the wandering, he taught me that I must be willing to be, in some sense, a partaker in Christ’s sufferings. For this mission, God, who gives strength equal to the trials of the day, prepared me by the *crucifixion of self*.”

“When I first went forth, some supposed that I was called to the work of gaining exterior proselytes to the church. But it was not so. I had a higher calling. It was not a calling to build up a party, but to glorify God; it was not a

designation to make Catholics, but to lead persons, with God's assistance, to a knowledge of Christ.

“And now I think I can say further, that God does not so much design me, in my labors hereafter, for the first conversion of sinners, as to lead those who are already beginners in the Christian life into what may be perhaps called a *perfect* conversion.”

11. Her meaning is, I suppose, that after the experience which had been given her, and in view of the multiplied applications which she now had for advice and instruction from those who wished to give themselves wholly to God, she must labor chiefly for the sanctification of souls. To this as a distinct work, she thought that God called her at the present time in a special manner; not so much to labor for the beginnings of light, as for its increase in the soul, and its purifying noon-day effulgence; not so much to teach sinners the doctrine of *forgiveness* through Christ, which was more generally understood, and to which many persons had devoted themselves, as to inculcate the doctrine, which for the most part was considered as objectionable as it was novel, of *sanctification* through Christ. And when we consider that holy living is not an accident, but that the principles at the bottom of it may be regarded as constituting a department of religious science, it is certainly proper that some persons, who have the requisite experience and information, should particularly devote themselves to this form of religious labor. It is certainly a department of religious effort, which, in its higher application, is not entirely safe in the hands of those who are only beginners in the process of inward crucifixion.

12. She remained at the house of Madame de Miramion, as nearly as can now be ascertained, till the early part of the year 1690. She then left under the following circumstances. The project of the Marquis of Chanvalon, sustained

as it was by the powerful influence of Monsieur de Harlai, aided by that of the king, was given up. Providence had opened the way to other domestic arrangements, much more satisfactory in every respect. It was at this time, that her daughter was married to Louis Nicholas Fouquet, Count de Vaux. Her consent to her daughter's marriage, which under other circumstances she refused at the expense of a continuance of her imprisonment, she now readily gave in favor of this gentleman. She had met and formed an acquaintance with him, at the residences of some of her distinguished friends; and such was the favorable impression she received of his character and morals, that she thought her daughter might be safely entrusted to his hands. They were married at the house of Madame de Miramion, who sympathized with Madame Guyon in an event of so much interest. This event, however, naturally led to a change of home. As her daughter was quite young, being scarcely in her fifteenth year, she thought she consulted her duty, as well as her personal happiness, in leaving her present residence, and in going to reside with her. The house of her daughter was a little distance out of the city.

13. Of the family and personal history of the Count de Vaux we know but little. He was connected, however, with the family of the Duchess of Charost, with whom Madame Guyon had formed an acquaintance. His father was Nicholas Fouquet, Marquis of Belle-Isle; a man of distinguished ability, who at the early age of thirty-eight held the important post of Superintendent of the Finances of France. Falling for some reasons, some of them of a public and others of a private nature, under the displeasure of his monarch Louis Fourteenth, he was arrested, tried, and condemned to perpetual banishment. This punishment was afterwards exchanged for that of imprisonment in the citadel of Pignerol. The common statement is, that he died in this citadel

in 1680. But Voltaire, who has given a few interesting particulars of him, says that he was assured by his daughter-in-law, the Countess de Vaux, (the daughter of Madame Guyon I suppose,) that he was released before his death from his imprisonment, and permitted to retire to an estate belonging to his wife. Of his wife, who was a woman of piety, and of merit in other respects, we have a short notice in Dangeau.

“*Paris, Dec. 14, 1716.* — Madame Fouquet died within these few days : she was eighty-four years of age, and was the widow of the late M. Fouquet, superintendent of the finances. She had lived in a very retired manner for many years, and was a woman of great piety. The poor are great losers by her death.”

14. Fouquet, it seems, had resided for some time at Vaux ; where, in the days of his prosperity, he had large possessions, and had built a splendid palace. It was from the place of his father's residence and of his possessions, I suppose, that the son, with whom Madame Guyon now resided, received his title of Count de Vaux. The marriage of her daughter with the Count naturally extended the sphere of her acquaintance. Among others she became in this way acquainted with Monsieur Fouquet, the uncle of her son-in-law, who subsequently showed her various acts of kindness, and with whom she kept up a correspondence by letter. The uncle was a man not more distinguished by his position in society than he was for his ardent piety. The marriage of his nephew with Mademoiselle Guyon furnished an opportunity for forming an acquaintance, for which his religious sentiments had already prepared him. Understanding Madame Guyon's views fully, he approved and defended them ; and may be said not only to have lived in them, but to have died in them. We shall have occasion to refer to him again.

Of the surviving sons of Madame Guyon, the eldest, Armand Jaques Guyon, settled at Blois. The second received, about this time, an appointment as an officer in the French Guards. So that, independently of the special reasons for going with the Countess de Vaux, there was less necessity than there had formerly been, of her keeping up a separate family establishment.

15. The following is one of her numerous letters, which I think may properly be inserted here.

LETTER TO ONE WHO HAD THE CARE OF SOULS.

“Sir,

“You will bear with me when I express to you my earnest desire, that you may be enabled to render every possible assistance to souls who are seeking God. The great thing to be kept in view by religious pastors at the present time, as it seems to me, is the distinction between what may be called outward or ceremonial religion on the one hand, and inward religion or that of the heart on the other. Religion, in its full development, is the same thing with the inward kingdom or the reign of God in the soul. And certain it is, that this inward or spiritual reign can never be established by outward ceremonies and observances alone.

“It can be nothing new to you, sir, when I remark, that the religion of the primitive disciples of Christ was characterized by being *inward*. It was the religion of the soul. The Saviour made an announcement of unspeakable importance, when he said, — *It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you.* He seems to have intended by this announcement, in part at least, to turn their attention from outward things, from every thing which was wholly exterior, however good it might be, and to prepare their hearts to receive the fulness of the

Holy Spirit, which he looked upon as the *one thing necessary*.

“The form is merely the sign of the *thing*. I may, perhaps, give offence in saying it, and am certainly liable to be misunderstood; but still it seems to me, that there may even be such a thing as *outward* praying, or praying in the *form* without the *spirit*; a sort of praying, which does but little or no good. It is true, the Saviour gave a form of prayer, the Lord’s Prayer, which is a very wonderful one. Nevertheless, he rebukes long and ostentatious prayers, and disapproves of frequent repetitions in prayer. He tells the disciples, that they are not heard for their much speaking; and assigns as a reason, that their heavenly Father knows what they want before they ask him. He says, *When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and pray to thy Father who seeth in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret shall reward thee openly*. The object of these directions, which is not inconsistent with a suitable degree of external observances, coincides with the object of the coming of the Holy Ghost, namely, to establish religion, not in things outward, but inward; not in the utterance, but in that which utters; not in the form, but in the spirit.

“Oh, sir! how much it is to be desired, that all persons, getting beyond the aid of mere outward supports, may have their life *from* God and *in* God! Such a day will certainly come to pass. We see already some evidences of its approach in the lives of those, who, in having no will but Christ’s will, live by faith; whose whole joy is in having dispositions that are *from* God and *with* God; and who regard all outward things as the mere transient signs and incidents, and not the reality of life.

“I repeat, sir, without meaning to disparage outward acts and observances when carried to a scriptural and reasonable extent, that it is of the greatest consequence to train souls

for that higher experience, which, among other expressions which designate it, may be described *as the reign of God within them*. Let them not be diverted with a thousand little objects, and thus be led to stop short of this great result. Oh that pastors would labor to this end! On the contrary, there are some who teach in such a manner as to draw aside some of those whom the Holy Spirit was drawing towards it.

“In the sanctified heart, *every mountain*, in the language of Scripture, *is brought low and every valley is filled*. ‘Every mountain and hill is brought low,’ by taking away all love of our own greatness and excellence; a love which shows itself by an attachment to extraordinary performances, and to remarkable methods of action; methods and performances in which the devil and nature rest satisfied, and in which they are apt to find their account. In other words, every thing within us, which exalts itself in the pride and love of nature, is cast out or abased.

“And again, in the sanctified soul, ‘every valley is filled,’ by being occupied with God and with Jesus Christ only. It is a great truth, that God does not and cannot fill the soul with himself, until he first empties it of every thing which is not himself. The mountain, which may be regarded as another name for the exaltation of nature, must first be brought low, and must be cast out. And into this *void* or valley, where a man may be said to possess himself without himself, God enters and fills it up. Truth takes the place of error. Holy dispositions take the place of unholy dispositions; and God, who embodies in himself all truth and all holiness, and who always creates that immortal image which bears his own likeness, can never be absent where true and holy dispositions exist. In such dispositions, of which he is the true light and life, he not only is, but he *must* be. Without God in them, they cannot exist. They are God’s home.

“It is with earnestness, therefore, that I conjure you, sir, to aid souls to the utmost of your power, in their spiritual progress; so that they may not stop short of God’s *inward reign*. The subjection of human selfishness by holy love, and the subjection of the human will by union with the divine will; — it is these which constitute a truly renovated nature, and which, because they thus constitute the same nature with Christ’s nature, may be said to make *Christ within* us. Christ, in some future years, will come visibly, in the clouds of heaven. But, in the spiritual sense, and in some respects in the more important sense, he may come NOW; he may come TO-DAY. Oh! let us labor for his *present* coming; not for a Christ in the clouds, but for a Christ in the affections; not for a Christ seen, but for a Christ felt; not for a Christ outwardly represented, but for a Christ inwardly realized. ‘*Thou sendest forth thy Spirit, O God! they are created; and thou renewest the face of the earth.*’ Ps. civ. 30.

“On this subject it is difficult for me to express my feelings, so strong are the desires which exist in me. When will men renounce themselves, that they may find God? Willingly, full willingly, I would shed my blood, I would lay down my life, if I could see the world seeking and bearing Christ’s holy image.

“I remain yours in our Lord,

“JEANNE MARIE B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”*

* See the work, entitled, “A Dissertation on Pure Love by the Archbishop of Cambray, with an account of the Life and Writings of the Lady for whose sake he was banished from Court, together with an Apologetic Preface. Dublin, 1739.” There are some letters and fragments of letters in this work, which I believe are not to be found in the large collection of her letters in French, published at London in 1767. In this letter as in some others, consulting the good of the reader, as

16. Of her half-brother, who was associated with her opposers and enemies, we have had repeated occasion to make mention. She had an own brother also, Gregory de la Mothe, apparently a sincere and pious man, who had much more sympathy with her. He was connected with the Carthusians. It is to this brother that the following letter is directed.

TO M. GREGOIRE BOUVIERES DE LA MOTHE.

“My dear Brother,

“I received a letter from you not long since. It is always with the greatest pleasure, that I receive any tidings from you ; but your last letter gave me more satisfaction than any previous ones. You are the only surviving member of our family, who appears to understand the dealings of God with me, and to appreciate my situation. I receive your letter, my dear brother, as a testimonial of Christian union and sympathy ; — a sympathy which I think you could not feel, if you had not something of the same experience. This state of mind can never be easily and fully understood, without a correspondent experience in the heart.

“The Lord has seen fit to bless me much in the labors for a revival of inward religion, which he has enabled me to undertake in various places. This was especially the case in the city of Grenoble, where the work was very wonderful. Oh ! it is good to give ourselves to the Lord in entire abandonment ; — and sweet and full is the recompense which he returns for all that we sacrifice to him, and for all that we undergo in making the sacrifice.

well as what is due to Madame Guyon, I have given the sentiment rather than the precise expression ; and, in order to do this, have been obliged to re-adjust, in some respects, the order of the parts.

“I speak to you, my dear brother, without reserve ; and, supposing that you may be pleased to learn something of my spiritual condition at the present time, I will freely state it to you. And, in the first place, my soul, as it seems to me, is united to God in such a manner that my own will is entirely lost in the divine will. Indeed, without the entire loss of my own will, this blessed union could not exist. And when I speak of the will of God, I mean not merely his known will, but his unknown will ; not only what he has declared, but whatever there is as yet undeclared, which remains hidden and eternal in his own counsels. Of that wonderful and essential will, which is only another name for God himself, because his will, without being the whole of himself, necessarily embraces and includes himself, every moment, as it comes, is the true and unalterable expression. I live, therefore, as well as I can express it, out of myself and out of all other creatures, in union with God because I am in union with his will ; that will, which, though it is essential and co-eternal with himself, is revealed and brought out of himself, and made in contact and in harmony with holy minds *moment by moment*. It is thus, that God, by his sanctifying grace, has become to me ALL in ALL. The self which once troubled me, is taken away ; and I find it no more. And thus God, being made known in things or events, which is the only way in which the I AM, or Infinite Existence, can be made known, every thing becomes, in a certain sense, God to me. I find God in every thing which is, and in every thing which comes to pass. The creature is nothing ; (I speak now of myself ;) God is ALL.

“And if you ask why it is, that the Lord has seen fit to bless me in my labors, it is because he has first, by taking away my own will, made me a *nothing*. The instrumentality which recognizes God as the sole source of its own strength, and regards itself only as an instrument, is the

instrumentality which God blesses. It is thus that he has seen fit to make use of a poor, weak woman, as an instrument in his own mighty hands, in bringing multitudes of different ages and conditions, priests as well as others, to a knowledge of himself. His own good Spirit, in the results which have been wrought in them, has put the seal to that which he has enabled me to say. And in recognizing the hand of the Lord, I think I may well speak of God's agency physically, as well as mentally; since he has sustained me in my poor state of health and in my physical weakness. Weak as I have been, he has enabled me to talk in the day, and to write in the night.

"After the labors of the day, I have, for some time past, spent a portion of the night in writing remarks or commentaries on the Scriptures, not critical but practical and spiritual. I began this work at Grenoble; and though my labors were many and my health was poor, the Lord enabled me, in the course of six months, to write such remarks, more or less extended, on all the books of the Old Testament.

"In this work so far, God has been pleased to give me very special assistance; so that the train of thought, suggested by particular passages, has not been broken and confused, when my plans have been temporarily interrupted; but I have continued it afterwards, as if no interruptions had occurred. My mind has acted so freely and easily, that it seemed as if I had nothing to do but to move my hand in the copying down of my thoughts. It is possible that I may have written some things which will appear imperfect or erroneous in the view of others; some things perhaps which may seem to be inconsistent with the doctrines of the church, and which may expose me to ecclesiastical condemnation; but as it seemed to me, that I acted in accordance with God's will and with the light which his Spirit gave me, I am obliged to leave

what I have done as it is, whatever may be the consequence.

“I am willing, in this as in other things, to commit all to God, both in doing and suffering. To my mind it is the height of blessedness to cease from our own action, in order that God may act in us. I do not mean by this to inculcate inactivity, or to say any thing which would seem to authorize it. What I mean is, that we should not move in our own wisdom, but in the light of God, as it shines from within in a sanctified judgment, and as it is increased from without by his divine Providence. The great principle of practical sanctification is this ;—*to desire nothing but what we now have, sin only excepted.* God is in every thing but sin, and is therefore to be accepted in every thing, because sin is none of his ; and when we thus have God, by accepting him in all his manifestations and doings, we necessarily have every thing. He, therefore, who is in that high state of submission and faith, that he has no desire, no inclination, no wish for any thing but what he now has, both inwardly and outwardly, and who, in being thus, possesses God himself, because he is perfectly in God’s will, is of all men the most happy.

“And this statement, my dear brother, expresses my own condition, as it is my prayer that it may express yours.

“In such a state, riches and poverty, and sorrow and joy, and life and death, are the same. In such a state is the true heavenly rest, the true Paradise of the spirit.

“In the hope and prayer that we may always be thus in the Lord, I remain, in love, your sister,

“JEANNE MARIE B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.

“Dec. 12, 1689.” *

* See Œuvres Complètes de Bossuet, Evêque de Meaux, tome xii. ; à Paris, 1836 ; p. 8. •

GOD THE FOUNTAIN OF LOVE TO HIS CHILDREN.

[From her Poems, Churchill's Edition.]

I love my God, but with no love of mine,
 For I have none to give ;
I love thee, Lord ; but all the love is thine,
 For by thy life I live.
I am as nothing, and rejoice to be
Emptied, and lost, and swallowed up in Thee.

Thou, Lord, alone, art all thy children need,
 And there is none beside ;
From thee the streams of blessedness proceed ;
 In thee the bless'd abide.
Fountain of life, and all-abounding grace,
Our source, our centre, and our dwelling place

CHAPTER VI.

Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray. His character. His early designs. Interesting letter. Sent by Louis Fourteenth as a missionary to Poitou. Learns something of the character and religious labors of Madame Guyon. On his return from Poitou, in 1688, he passes through Montargis, and makes some inquiries in relation to her. Meets her for the first time at the country residence of the Duchess of Charost, at Beine. They return to Paris together. Letters which passed between them.

It is at this period of the life of Madame Guyon, that her history becomes interwoven with that of Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, in a remarkable manner. Of the character of this distinguished man, whose personal history is so generally known, it is hardly necessary to speak. The remarks, however, of the Chancellor D'Aguesseau on Fenelon, which are to be found in the Memoirs of the Life of his Father, seem to me to be so striking as well as just, that I am tempted to quote them here.

2. "Fenelon," says the Chancellor, "was one of those uncommon men who are destined to give lustre to their age; and who do equal honor to human nature by their virtues, and to literature by their superior talents. He was affable in his deportment, and luminous in his discourse; the peculiar qualities of which were a rich, delicate, and powerful imagination; but which never let its power be felt. His eloquence had more of mildness in it than of vehemence; and he triumphed as much by the charms of his conversation, as by the superiority of his talents. He always brought

himself to the level of his company ; he never entered into disputation ; and he sometimes appeared to yield to others at the very time that he was leading them. Grace dwelt upon his lips. He discussed the greatest subjects with facility ; the most trifling were ennobled by his pen ; and upon the most barren he scattered the flowers of rhetoric. The peculiar, but unaffected mode of expression which he adopted, made many persons believe that he possessed universal knowledge, as if by inspiration. It might, indeed, have been almost said, that he rather invented what he knew than learned it. He was always original and creative ; imitating no one, and himself inimitable. A noble singularity pervaded his whole person ; and a certain undefinable and sublime simplicity gave to his appearance the air of a prophet."

3. The account which is given of him by his contemporary, the Duke de St. Simon, is also striking. "Fenelon," says St. Simon, "was a tall man, thin, well made, and with a large nose. From his eyes issued the fire and animation of his mind like a torrent ; and his countenance was such that I never yet beheld any one similar to it, nor could it ever be forgotten if once seen. It combined every thing, and yet with every thing in harmony ; it was grave, and yet alluring ; it was solemn, and yet gay ; it bespoke equally the theologian, the bishop, and the nobleman. Every thing which was visible in it, as well as in his whole person, was delicate, intellectual, graceful, becoming, and, above all, noble. It required an effort to cease looking at him. All the portraits are strong resemblances, though they have not caught that harmony which was so striking in the original, and that individual delicacy which characterized each feature. His manners were answerable to his countenance. They had that air of ease and urbanity, which can be derived only from intercourse with the best society, and which diffused itself over all his discourse."

4. Fenelon, who added ardent piety to the highest order of talents, and to the graces of expression and manner which so arrested the attention of the historians and biographers of his times, had formed the purpose, under the inspiration of that great Power who is the life of all holy purposes, to live and act solely for what he deemed the cause of God. His first plan was to go as a missionary to Canada, in North America, at that time a province of France; and which could not possibly furnish any attractions to a person of his turn of mind, separate from what are found in religion. In the simplicity and love of his heart, he was willing to spend the splendid powers which God had given him, in instructing a few ignorant savages in the way of life.

Disappointed in this, he next turned his attention to Greece; and he indulged the hope, that he might be permitted to preach the gospel in a land which could not fail to be endeared to him by many classical and historical recollections. There is a letter extant, written at this time, which would be interesting if in no other light than as a memorial of the youthful Fenelon, in which the warmth of his heart blends with the vividness of his imagination. It is dated at Sarlat, and was probably addressed to Bossuet. The following is a part of it.

5. "Several trifling events have hitherto prevented my return to Paris: but I shall at length set out, sir, and I shall almost fly thither. But, compared with this journey, I meditate a much greater one. The whole of Greece opens before me, and the Sultan flies in terror; — the Peloponnesus breathes again in liberty, and the church of Corinth shall flourish once more; — the voice of the apostle shall be heard there again. I seem to be transported among those enchanting places and those inestimable ruins, where, while I collect the most curious relics of antiquity, I imbibe also its spirit. I seek for the Areopagus, where St. Paul declared to the

sages of the world the unknown God. I kneel down, O happy Patmos! upon thy earth, and kiss the steps of the apostle; and I shall almost believe that the heavens are opening on my sight. Once more, after a night of such long darkness, the dayspring dawns in Asia. I behold the land which has been sanctified by the steps of Jesus, and crimsoned with his blood. I see it delivered from its profaneness, and clothed anew in glory. The children of Abraham are once more assembling together from the four quarters of the earth, over which they have been scattered, to acknowledge Christ whom they pierced, and to show forth the Lord's resurrection to the end of time."

In this plan also he was disappointed. It was not the design of Providence to employ him either in Greece or America. There was work for him in France.

6. It was a part of the system of Louis Fourteenth to establish throughout his dominions an uniformity of religion; and he had the sagacity to see, that, in carrying out this difficult plan, he needed the aid of distinguished men. As a preliminary step to his ultimate purposes, Louis had revoked the edict of Nantes. This edict, promulgated in 1598 by Henry Fourth, embodied principles of toleration, which furnished for many years a considerable degree of protection to the French Protestants. Intoxicated with power, and ignorant of that sacred regard which man owes to the religious rights and principles of his fellow-man, he had commenced, previously to its revocation, a series of hostile acts, entirely inconsistent with the terms and principles of the edict of Henry. The sword was drawn in aid of the church; blood had already been shed in some places; and it is stated, that, soon after the revocation of the protecting edict, no less than fifty thousand families, holding their religion more precious to them than worldly prosperity, left France.*

* Bausset's *Life of Fenelon*, vol. i. p. 18.

7. So desirous was the French monarch of making the Roman Catholic religion the exclusive religion of his kingdom, that he united together different and discordant systems of proselytism, and added the milder methods of persuasion to the argument of the sword. There were men among the Protestants who could never be terrified, but might possibly be convinced. And knowing the tenacity of their opinions, if not the actual strength of their theological position, he was desirous of sending religious teachers among them, who were distinguished for their ability, mildness, and prudence. It was under these circumstances and with these views, that he cast his eye upon the Abbé de Fenelon.

8. The young Abbé waited upon the king. He received from the monarch's lips the commission which indicated the field and the nature of his labors. The labor assigned him was the difficult one of showing to the Protestants, whose property had been pillaged, whose families had been scattered, and whose blood had been shed like water, the truth and excellencies of the religion of their persecutors. Fenelon, who understood the imperious disposition of Louis, and at the same time felt an instinctive aversion to the violent course he was pursuing, saw the difficulty of his position. He consented, however, to undertake this trying and almost hopeless embassy on one condition only; a condition which shows the benevolence of his character and the soundness of his judgment at this early period of his life; — namely, *that the armed force should be removed from the province to which he should be sent as a missionary, and that military coercion should cease.*

9. It was in the distant province of Poitou, which Louis had assigned him as the field of his missionary labors, that Fenelon first heard of Madame Guyon. By means which are now not known to us, he became acquainted with the remarkable story of her missionary labors, of her writings on reli-

gion and religious experience, and of the high and somewhat peculiar character of her piety. Nor did it escape his notice, that, even in this remote province, her enemies had scattered abroad their misrepresentations. His desire to know something more of a woman, whose great mental power and laborious piety had made her one of the religious reformers of her age, had not ceased, when, after nearly a three years' residence, he had completed the labors of his mission in Poitou; a mission in which he eminently secured the respect and affection of those from whom he differed in opinion.

On his return, in the latter part of the year 1688, he passed through the city of Montargis, which was the early scene of Madame Guyon's life. Thinking it proper to learn all that he conveniently could of her character, before he formed that more intimate acquaintance which he evidently designed to establish after his return to Paris, he made at Montargis all those inquiries which seemed to be necessary. "Questioning several persons respecting her," says M. de Bausset, "persons who had witnessed her conduct during her early years, and while she was married, he was interested by the *unanimous* testimonies which he heard of her piety and goodness."

10. When he arrived at Paris, he learned more distinctly the facts, which had reached him in the distant field of his missionary labors. He learned also, that the woman, whom something in his heart told him that he ought not only to see, but to learn from her own lips the principles on which she had made so great religious progress, was in disgrace with the monarch, who had placed him in the important mission of Poitou, and who contemplated placing him in still more responsible situations. It is true, that, at the solicitation of Madame de Maintenon, he had released her from prison; but he neither then, nor ever afterwards, expressed

any thing but distrust of her opinions, and either indifference or aversion to her person. Had Fenelon, knowing as he did the jealous and imperious tendencies of the mind of Louis, consulted merely worldly interest, he would have avoided her. But, following the suggestions of his own benevolent heart, and of that silent voice which God utters in the souls of those who love him, he did otherwise.

11. Fenelon met Madame Guyon, for the first time, at the house of the Duchess of Charost. At the country residence of this lady, who had a retired establishment at the village of Beine, situated a few miles beyond Versailles, in the direction of and beyond St. Cyr, Madame Guyon made frequent visits. She had long been acquainted with the duchess. It was a nephew of this lady, to whom Mademoiselle Guyon was afterwards married.

It would somewhat save appearances, therefore, if Fenelon could meet her here. And, accordingly, their meeting at this place seems to have been the result of a private arrangement, which was brought about by the aid of their common friends. They were already mutually acquainted by reputation; and it is but reasonable to suppose, that it was mutually pleasing to them to form a personal acquaintance. But it is very clear, I think, that the leading motive was a purely religious one. They conversed together at much length, not on worldly subjects, for that was foreign to their feelings; not on the external arrangements and progress of the church, for that was a subject which had been familiar to them from childhood; but on a subject vastly more important than either, that of *inward religion*. The immense importance of the subject, the correspondence between the doctrines of a transforming and sanctifying spirituality and the deeply felt needs of his own soul, the presence and fervid eloquence of a woman, whose rank, beauty, and afflictions could not fail to excite an interest exceeded only by that of her

evangelical simplicity and sanctity, made a deep impression on the mind of Fenelon, which remained with him ever after.

After spending a part of the day in this manner, they both returned to Paris in the same carriage, accompanied only by a young female attendant, whom Madame Guyon kept with her; which gave them still farther opportunity to prosecute this interesting conversation, and to explain more particularly her views of religious experience and growth. This was in the latter part of the year 1688; at which time she resided at the house of Madame de Miramion. "From that time," says the author from whom I derive these statements, "they were intimate friends." *

12. If it was this interview to which Madame Guyon refers in her Autobiography, it would seem, that they saw each other the next day. This second interview took place, as I suppose, at the house of a mutual friend, the Duchess of Bethune. "Some days after my release from prison," she says, "having heard of the Abbé de Fenelon, my mind was taken up with him with much force and sweetness. It seemed to me, that the Lord would make me an instrument of spiritual good to him; and that, in the experience of a common spiritual advancement, he would unite us together in a very intimate manner. I had an opportunity of seeing him the next day. [This was her first interview at the house of the Duchess of Charost.] I inwardly felt, however, that this interview, without failing to increase his interest in the subject of the Interior Life, did not fully satisfy him. And I, on my part, experienced something which made me desire to pour out my heart more fully into his. But there

* "Relation de l'Origine, du Progrès, et de la Condemnation du Quietisme repandu en France, avec plusieurs Anecdotes curieuses," — a work ascribed to Monsieur Phelipeaux, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and a particular friend of Bossuet.

was not as yet an entire correspondence in our views and experience, which made me suffer much on his account.

13. "It was in the early part of the next day that I saw him again, [at the house of the Duchess of Bethune.] My soul desired that he might be all that the Lord would have him to be. We remained together for some time in silent prayer; and not without a spiritual blessing. The obscurity which had hitherto rested upon his spiritual views and exercises began to disappear; but still he was not yet such as I desired him to be. During eight whole days he rested as a burden on my spirit. During that time my soul suffered and wrestled for him; and then, the agony of my spirit passing away, I found inward rest. Since that time, looking upon him as one wholly given to the Lord, I have felt myself united to him without any obstacle. And our union of spirit with each other has increased ever since, after a manner pure and ineffable. My soul has seemed to be united to his in the bond of divine love, as was that of Jonathan to David. The Lord has given me a view of the great designs he has upon this person, and how dear he is to him."

14. During the interviews between Madame Guyon and Fenelon which have been mentioned, some reference seems to have been made to her writings. The *Short Method of Prayer*, and the work entitled the *Torrents*, had already been published. She had other writings in manuscript, and was desirous that Fenelon should see them. This explains, in part, what is said in the following letter, which appears to have been the first that passed between them.

"PARIS, November, 1688.

"To the Abbé de Fenelon.

"I take the liberty to send you some of my writings. It is my desire that you should act the part of a censor in regard to them. Mark with your disapproval every thing

in them, which comes from the imperfections of the creature rather than from the Spirit of God. I have other writings, which, if I did not fear to fatigue you, it would please me much to bring under your notice, to be preserved or to be destroyed as you might think them worthy of preservation or otherwise. If I should learn that you do not consider those which are now sent as unworthy of your attention, I may send the others at some future time. As I send them in the spirit of submission to your theological and critical judgment, and with entire sincerity, I count upon it that you will spare nothing which ought not to be spared. When you shall have read the sheets which I have sent to you, you will do me a favor by returning them with your corrections.

“Permit me to expect that you will deal with me without ceremony. Have no regard to me, separate from what is due to truth and to God’s glory. God has given me great confidence in you; but he does not allow me to cause you trouble. And you will tell me frankly when I do so. I am ready to keep up some correspondence with you. If God inspires you with different views, let me know without hesitation. I readily submit myself to you. I have already followed your advice in the matter of confession.

“And now I will turn to another subject. For seven days past, I have been in a state of continual prayer for you. I call it prayer, although the state of mind has been somewhat peculiar. I have desired nothing in particular; have asked nothing in particular. But my soul, presenting continually its object before God, that God’s will might be accomplished and God’s glory might be manifested in it, has been like a lamp that burns without ceasing. Such was the prayer of Jesus Christ. Such is the prayer of the Seven Spirits who stand before God’s throne, and who are well compared to seven lamps that burn night and day. It seems

to me, that the designs of mercy, which God has upon you, are not yet accomplished. Your soul is not yet brought into full harmony with God, and therefore I suffer. My suffering is great. My prayer is not yet heard.

“The prayer which I offer for you is not the work of the creature. It is not a prayer self-made, formal, and outward. It is the voice of the Holy Ghost uttering itself in the soul, an inward burden which man cannot prevent nor control. The Holy Ghost prays with effect. When this inward voice ceases, it is a sign, that the grace which has been supplicated is sent down. I have been in this state of mind before for other souls, but never with such struggle of spirit, and never for so long a time. God’s designs will be accomplished upon you. I speak with confidence; but I think it cannot be otherwise. You may delay the result by resistance; but you cannot hinder it. Opposition to God, who comes to reclaim the full dominion of the heart, can have no other effect than to increase and prolong the inward suffering. Pardon the Christian plainness with which I express myself.

“J. M. B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

15. Some of the letters which passed between them, perhaps for particular reasons, are without either direction or signature. This is sometimes the case with other letters. Madame Guyon was so situated, that a degree of care, and even of concealment, in her intercourse with others, was sometimes necessary. We have thought it proper, in a few instances, to supply such omissions as are now referred to, when the manner of doing it was very obvious, either from the letter or in some other way.

16. There are some expressions in this letter, and others similar in other places, which it may be proper to explain. Directed by that inward light which is appropriate to the holy mind, she had offered up her prayers for Fenelon,

during seven days in succession, with that suffering and struggle of spirit with which she had prayed for others, and perhaps still more earnestly. But the expressions which she uses in relation to these mental exercises are worthy of notice. *She presented him before God.*

And this leads me to say, in explanation of these and other expressions which she employs, that the prayer of the truly subdued and sanctified soul may be regarded as in some respects different from that of others. It is not always distinctly petitionary in form; still less is it what may be termed argumentative. In other words, it does not, as it were, *assail* God with a multitude of consecutive reasons, as if he were ignorant of the case, or were hard to be persuaded; but, in the exercise of a faith which can never distrust either God's wisdom or goodness, it simply presents the object before him, that he may be glorified in it; accompanied, in a greater or less degree, with a burden or moaning of the spirit, which is sometimes very intense. This inward sorrow of spirit, of which God himself is the author, involving as it does a strong desire for the good of the object which occasions it, always purified and ennobled also by a deep and entire submission, is a prayer which is peculiarly acceptable and efficacious with God. It is the kind of prayer, as it seems to me, which is described in the eighth chapter of Romans, twenty-sixth verse. "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know *not what we should pray for as we ought*; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us *with groanings which cannot be uttered.*"

17. It was thus that a correspondence commenced, which continued a number of years. They had opportunities of seeing each other both at Paris and Versailles. But still it was not convenient, and perhaps was not proper, that they should see each other very often. But the deep interest felt by Madame Guyon on the one hand, and the many questions

which Fenelon found it necessary to propose to her higher experience on the other, rendered it necessary that they should correspond with each other. The very next day she wrote another letter as follows :—

“Paris, November, 1688.

“To the Abbé de Fenelon.

“I did myself the pleasure to write to you yesterday morning. I mentioned the interest which my soul felt for yours. That interest still continues. So deeply absorbing has been the application of my soul to God on your account, that I have slept but little during the past night. And at this moment I can give an idea of my state only by saying, that my spirit, in the interest which it feels for your entire renovation, burns and consumes itself within me.

“I have an inward conviction, that the obstacle, which has hitherto separated you from God, is diminishing and passing away. Certain it is, that my soul begins to feel a spiritual likeness and union with yours, which it has not previously felt. God appears to be making me a medium of communicating good to yourself, and to be imparting to my soul, graces, which are ultimately destined to reach and to bless yours. It may not be improper to say, however, that, while he is blessing and raising you in one direction, he seems to be doing that which may be the means of profitable humiliation in another, by making a woman, and one so unworthy as myself, the channel of communicating his favors. But I too must be willing to be where God has placed me, and not refuse to be an *instrument* in his hands. He assigns me my work. And my work is to be an instrument. And it is because I am an instrument, which he employs as he pleases, that he will not let me go. Nevertheless, he makes me happy in being his prisoner. He holds

me incessantly, and still more strongly than ever, in his presence. And my business there is to present you before him, that his will may be accomplished in you. And I cannot doubt, that the will of God is showing itself in mercy, and that you are entering into union with him, because I find, that my own soul, which has already experienced this union, is entering into union with you through *him*; and in such a manner as no one can well explain, who has not had the experience of it.

“I have strong confidence in the opinions which, from time to time, I express to you. These opinions, as I cannot doubt, are formed under the inward guidance of the Holy Spirit; but still they have all the appearance of being purely *natural operations of the human mind*. What I mean to say, is, that my mind does not form its conclusions by the extraordinary methods of dreams, inward voices, and spiritual lights of such a nature that they are not reconcilable with the ordinary operations of the mind. Such sources of development and knowledge, speaking in no unfavorable terms, and allowing all that belongs to them, are liable to be misunderstood, and to lead persons astray. My mind, divested, at length, of that selfishness which once influenced it, and existing, as I think, in simplicity and purity, is in that position which is most certain to receive the secret inspirations of an inward divine guidance, without those doubtful aids which have been referred to, and which belong to a lower degree of religious experience. So easy, so natural, so prompt, are the decisions of the sanctified soul on all moral and religious subjects, that it seems to reach its conclusions *intuitively*. And if such a person is asked for the reason of the opinion which he gives, it is not always easy for him to analyze his mental operations, and to give it. At the same time, he retains great confidence in the opinion itself, as being the true voice of God in the soul, although it may not

be an *audible* one. And I have found that God, in a very remarkable manner, bears witness to and verifies the conclusions which he thus forms in holy souls.

“I would not have any one infer from what has been said, that I suppose souls which have passed through the death of nature are infallible. There are various inquiries, (those, for instance, of a purely natural or scientific character,) in which they are liable to err as well as others. But it is still true, that God teaches holy souls. And we may reasonably and confidently expect, that he will not permit those who are in renovation and true simplicity of spirit to fall into errors on moral and religious subjects, which will be to themselves spiritually hurtful.

“I express myself fully and freely to you; but I do not to everybody. There are some persons who are not in a state which corresponds with mine; and therefore there are some things I might say, which they would not be in a situation to understand. Your situation is different. Looking to God for guidance, I have no doubt that he will give me that which it will be proper and necessary to say to you. Perhaps, even in your case, comparatively favorable as it is, there may be a difficulty in fully understanding *every thing* at present. Permit me, therefore, to request, that you will remember the suggestions I make, in the full confidence that you will appreciate their application and their truth *at some future time*. You will see things, I have no doubt, taking place in their appointed time and order; and you will see it in such a manner as to furnish to you an evidence, that God is making use of one so small and so unworthy as myself, as a means of communicating his mercy and of accomplishing his designs upon you.

“This instrumentality, which may be applied to some extent when we are at a distance from each other, cannot fail to be beneficial, provided *there is a proper correspon-*

dence on your part. Do not be deceived. Do not regard this humble instrumentality a useless thing. It is certainly no unreasonable thing that God requires of you a humble, teachable spirit, as one of those forms of experience which are involved in your entire loss and union in him. Be so humble and childlike as to submit to the dishonor, if such it may be called, of receiving blessings from God through one so poor and unworthy as myself; and thus, the grace which God has imparted to my own heart flowing instrumentally into yours, and producing a similarity of dispositions, our souls shall become like two rivers, mingling in one channel, and flowing on together to the ocean. Receive, then, the prayer of this poor heart, since God wills it to be so. The pride of nature, in one in your situation, will cry out against it; but remember that the grace of God is magnified through the weakness of the instrumentality he employs. Accept this method in entire contentment and abandonment of spirit, (as I have no doubt that you will,) simply *because God wills it.* And be entirely assured, that God will bless his own instrumentality, in granting every thing which will be necessary to you.

“I close by repeating the deep sympathy and correspondence of spirit, which I have with you.

“JEANNE MARIE B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

CHAPTER VII.

Religious state of Fenelon. His entire consecration to God. Perplexities connected with his inward experience. His correspondence with Madame Guyon. Interesting letter written by him in answer to one received from her. On the various and successive steps of inward crucifixion. Of unfavorable and selfish habits of the will, and of the necessity of correcting them. Of the principle of faith in its relation to reason.

THOSE who are acquainted with the personal history of Fenelon, know how fully he combined greatness of intellect with humility and benevolence of temper ; so that it was not difficult for him to associate with others, or even to receive instruction in those particulars in which his own experience was defective. And accordingly he did not hesitate, in his personal intercourse with Madame Guyon, and in his written correspondence, to state frankly those points in which he needed advice. He was already a religious man ; religious in a high sense ; but still it seemed to him that he was not all that he ought to be, and not all that with divine aid he could be. He panted for higher advancements. He could not rest, until, in the possession of victory over the natural evils of the heart, he had become one with God in freedom from selfishness, and in purity and perfectness of love.

2. The first struggle of his mind seemed to turn upon the point, whether he should make to God that entire and absolute consecration of himself in all things, without which it is

impossible that those higher results should be realized, to which his mind was now directed. In a mitigated sense he had already done it; but there was something more: it must now be formal, decisive, entire, and for ever. The struggle is generally as severe at this point as at any; but when this is surmounted, every thing else will infallibly follow in its own time and place. We do not mean to say, that every thing, or that any thing, will come in precise conformity to our anticipations of it; but it will come just as God would have it come.

3. Having taken this first and great step, having laid himself upon the altar of sacrifice, he awaited the dealings of God with submission, but not without some degree of perplexity. The way was new; and it baffled in his case, as it generally does in others, all the conjectures of merely human wisdom. The matter of forgiveness through Jesus Christ, as our Saviour from the penalty of the violated law, was easily understood; but that of holy living, that of being kept moment by moment, in distinction from forgiveness in the first instance, presented itself as a problem attended with different incidents, and perhaps involving new principles. It was under these circumstances, and in this state of mind, that he thought it entirely proper to avail himself of Madame Guyon's higher experience and inward wisdom. For two years they kept up a frequent intercourse by letter,—a correspondence in which it is easy to see her untiring patience and her deep religious insight. It was hard for him at first to understand, and to realize in practice, the great lesson of living by faith alone. Even at the end of some six or eight months after their correspondence commenced, he had questions to propose, and difficulties which required to be resolved.

4. It was in this state of things, that she wrote to him a long letter, in which she gives a general view of the process,

in which the soul, that is entirely consecrated to God, undergoes the successive steps of inward crucifixion and of progressive conformity, until it realizes the highest results. She took great pains with it. The communication now referred to does not now appear in her works in the form of a letter, but is usually printed as a separate treatise. It is entitled, *A concise View of the Soul's Return to God, and of its Reunion with him.**

To this long paper, which shows, not only her ability, but her willingness to labor for the good of others, we find a well-digested answer, written at some length, from Fenelon; of which the following is a summary: —

[Paris,] “Aug. 11, 1689.

“To Madame de la Mothe Guyon.

“I think, Madame, that I understand, in general, the statements in the last paper which you had the kindness to send to me; in which you describe the various experiences which characterize the soul's return to God by means of simple or pure faith. I will endeavor, however, to recapitulate some of your views, as they present themselves to me, in order that I may learn from you, whether I correctly understand them.

“I. The first step which is taken (at least such would be the natural order) by the soul that has formally and permanently given itself to God, would be to bring what may be called its external powers, that is to say, its natural appetites and propensities, under subjection. It is not possible for the consecrated soul to avoid doing this. This would naturally be the first strife, the first place and occasion of

* In French, the only language as I suppose in which it has been published, it is entitled, *Petit Abrégé de la Voie et de la Réunion de l'Ame à Dieu.*

struggle, in that series of inward and outward contests which is destined ultimately to bring the whole man into subjection. The religious state of the soul at such times is characterized by that simplicity which shows its sincerity, and that it is sustained by faith. So that, in the contest of which we are now speaking, the soul does not act of itself alone, but follows and coöperates, with all its power, with that grace which is given it. It gains the victory through faith.

“II. The second step, in the process of actually realizing in inward experience what is prospectively and virtually involved in the act of entire consecration to God, is to cease to rest on the pleasures of inward sensibility. The struggle here is, in general, more severe and prolonged than in the first contest. It is hard for us to die to these inward tastes and relishes, which make us feel so happy, and which God usually permits us to enjoy and to rest upon in our first experience. When we lose our inward happiness, that is to say, that inward buoyancy and exhilaration of spirit which depends upon numerous circumstances, we are very apt to think that we lose God; not considering that the moral life of the soul does not consist in pleasure, but in union with God’s will, whatever that may be. The victory here also is by faith; acting, however, in a little different way.

“III. Having gained the victory over all undue and inordinate action of the physical nature, and being crucified also to those forms of inward support which depend merely upon pleasurable emotions, another step in the process is that of entire crucifixion to any reliance upon our virtues, either outward or inward. The habits of the life of SELF have become so strong, that there is hardly any thing, in which we do not take a degree of complacency. Having gained the victory over its senses, and become temperate in all things, and having gained so much strength, that it can live by faith, independently of the support of inward pleasurable excite-

ments, the soul begins to take a degree of satisfaction, which is secretly a selfish one, in its virtues, in its truth, its temperance, its faith, its benevolence, and to rest in them as if they were its *own*, and as if they gave it a claim of acceptance on the ground of its merit. This is a state of things inconsistent with entire acceptance with God, and is wrong. It becomes necessary, therefore, in the process of inward crucifixion, that we should die to our virtues. It is not meant, however, as every one will readily understand, that we are to be dead to the practice of them. That would be a great error; but we are to be dead to them as *self-originated* virtues, as our *own* virtues. We are to be dead to them, considered as coming from ourselves; and alive to them only as the gifts and the power of God. We are to have no perception or life to them, in the sense of taking a secret satisfaction in them; and are to take satisfaction in the Giver of them only.

“IV. A fourth step in this process is this. It consists in a cessation or death to that repugnance which men naturally feel to those dealings of God which are involved in the process of inward crucifixion. We must die to our aversions, as well as to our desires. The blows which God sends upon us, when we are renovated in this respect, are received without those feelings of opposition which once existed, and existed oftentimes with great power. The soul, when it has arrived at this state, resists nothing; it is offended at nothing. So clear is its perception of God’s presence in every thing; so strong is its faith, that those apparently adverse dealings, which were once exceedingly trying, are now received, not merely with acquiescence, but with cheerfulness. It kisses the hand that smites it.

“V. When we have proceeded so far, we may say with a good deal of reason, that the natural man is dead. And then comes, as a fifth step in this process, the NEW LIFE;

not merely the *beginning* of a new life, but a new life in the higher sense of the terms, the resurrection of *the life of love*. All those gifts which the soul before sought in its own strength, and which it perverted and rendered poisonous and destructive to itself, by thus seeking them out of God, are now richly and fully returned to it, by the great Giver of all things. It is not the design or plan of God (his nature will not allow of any such design or plan) to deprive his creatures of happiness, but only to pour the cup of bitterness into all that happiness, and to smite all that joy and prosperity which the creature has in any thing *out of himself*. There is a moral law of happiness, which is as unchangeable as the unchangeableness of moral principles. He smites the false happiness, or happiness founded on false principles, which is only the precursor of real and permanent misery, in order that he may establish the true and everlasting happiness, by bringing the soul into perfect communion and union with himself, and by enabling it to drink the living water from the Everlasting Fountain. And the soul has this new life, and all the good and happiness involved in it, by ceasing from its *own* action, (that is to say, from all action except that which is in coöperation with God,) and letting God live and act in it.

“VI. And this life, in the sixth place, becomes a truly transformed life, *a life in union with God*, when the will of the soul becomes not only conformed to God practically and in fact, but is conformed to him in every thing in it, and in the relations it sustains, which may be called a *disposition* or *tendency*. It is, then, that there is such a harmony between the human and divine will, that they may properly be regarded as having become one. This, I suppose, was the state of St. Paul, when he says, ‘*I live ; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.*’ That is to say, through the power of faith in God through Christ, he was what Christ would have

been in his situation ; he had Christ's spirit ; he had the same simplicity of motive, the same union with God's will. And thus the soul, which had first died to its own or self-originated action, and dying again, as it were, *to its own inactivity*, takes a new life, by acting no longer from itself, but in coöperation with God.

“It is not enough to be merely passive under God's dealings. Passivity, or the spirit of entire submission, is a great grace ; but it is a still higher attainment to become *flexible* ; that is to say, to move with perfect ease, and without any inward repugnance, in God's movement, and just as he would have us move. This state of mind might perhaps be termed the spirit of *coöperation*, or of *divine* coöperation. In this state the will is not only subdued ; but, what is very important, all tendency to a different or rebellious state is taken away. The soul now acts or suffers, acts or is inactive, just as God would have it to be ; and as it does this without the trouble of first overcoming contrary dispositions, it does it without pain. It may suffer in its outward relations ; it may suffer for others ; there may be suffering in various degrees in the natural sensibilities ; but all selfishness, and all tendency to selfishness, being taken away, it no longer suffers in its interior and central nature. In other words, the principle of faith, which is the true centre of the renovated soul, sends out such pure and rejoicing consolations as to counterbalance all painful influences. Of such a soul, which is described as the Temple of the Holy Ghost, God himself is the dweller and the light.

“This transformed soul does not cease to advance in holiness. It is transformed without remaining where it is ; new without being stationary. Its life is love, *all* love ; but the capacity of its love continually increases.

“Such, Madame, if I understand them, are essentially the sentiments of the letter which you had the kindness to send me.

“I wish you to write me, whether the statement which I have now made, corresponds with what you intended to convey.

“I would make one or two remarks further in explanation of what has been said. One of the most important steps in the process of inward restoration is to be found in the habits of the will. This I have already alluded to, but it is not generally well understood. A man may, perhaps, have a new life; but it cannot be regarded as a *perfectly transformed life*, a life brought into perfect harmony with God, until all the evil influences of former habits are corrected. When this takes place, it is perhaps not easy to determine; but must be left to each one’s consciousness. This process must take place in the will, as well as in other parts of the mind. The action of the will must not only be free and right, but must be relieved from all tendency in another direction resulting from previous evil habits.

“When selfishness is entirely removed from the affections, and when the will is in a state of entire *disappropriation*, or freedom from self, so as to act entirely in accordance with the affections, and when the tendencies of former habits have ceased in both cases; then the soul, departing from itself as that self *was*, enters fully into God, and not only becomes one with him in the conformity of obedience, but one with him in the entire concurrence and harmony of spiritual nature. The work of spiritual union is not entirely completed, till these results have been realized.

“Another remark which I have to make, is in relation to *faith*. That all this great work, the outlines of which you have given in your letter, is by faith, is true; but I think we should be careful, in stating the doctrine of faith, not to place it in opposition to reason. On the contrary, we only say what is sustained both by St. Paul and St. Augustine, when we assert, that it is a very *reasonable thing to believe*.

Faith is a different thing from mere physical and emotive impulse; and it would be no small mistake to confound those who walk by faith in the true sense of the terms, with thoughtless and impulsive persons and enthusiasts.

“Faith is necessarily based upon antecedent acts of intelligence. By the use of those powers of perception and reasoning, which God has given us, we have the knowledge of the existence of God. It is by their use also, that we know that God has spoken to us in his revealed word. In that word, which we thus receive and verify by reason, we have general truths laid down, general precepts communicated, applicable to our situation and duties. But these truths, coming from him who has a right to direct us, are authoritative. They *command*. And it is our province and duty, in the exercise of *faith* in the goodness and wisdom of him who issues the command, to yield obedience, and to go wherever it may lead us, however dark and mysterious the path may now appear. It is thus, in the language of St. John of the Cross, that we walk in the obscurity or *night* of faith; doing without knowing what we do, and going without knowing where we go. But such faith, although it is not identical with reason, is still not in opposition to it, but rather rests upon it. Those who walk by faith, walk in obscurity; but they know that there is a light above them, which will make all clear and bright in its appropriate time. We trust; but, as St. Paul says, *we know in whom we have trusted*.

“I illustrate the subject, Madame, in this way. I suppose myself to be in a strange country. There is a wide forest before me, with which I am totally unacquainted, although I must pass through it. I accordingly select a guide, whom I suppose to be able to conduct me through these ways never before trodden by me. In following this guide, I obviously go by *faith*; but as I know the character of my

guide, and as my intelligence or reason tells me that I ought to exercise such faith, it is clear that my faith in him is not in opposition to reason, but is in accordance with it. On the contrary, if I refuse to have faith in my guide, and undertake to make my way through the forest by my own sagacity and wisdom, I may properly be described as a person without reason, or as unreasonable ; and should probably suffer for my want of reason by losing my way. Faith and reason, therefore, if not identical, are not at variance.

“Fully subscribing, with these explanations, to the doctrine of faith as the life and guide of the soul,

“I remain, Madame, yours in our common Lord,

“FRANCIS S. DE LA MOTHE FENELON.”

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarks upon Fenelon. Letter from Madame Guyon to him. Her remarks on faith. Remarks on the disappropriation or entire consecration of the will. Incident in her past experience illustrative of the doctrine of faith. Fenelon appointed, in August 1689, preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy. Character of the Duke. Of the labors of Fenelon in his education. Remarks on the writings of Fenelon. Of the influence of Madame Guyon upon him. Her letter to him on his appointment. Revival of religion at Dijon. A Poem.

THE principles of the inward life, which he had thus learned from the conversations and correspondence of Madame Guyon, commended themselves entirely to the mind of Fenelon. It is true, that these principles, saying nothing of the support they have in the Scriptures, are found with slight variations in many of the Mystic writers; in Kempis and Thauler, in Ruysbroke, in Cardinal Bona, in Catherine of Genoa, in John of the Cross, and others; but Fenelon, although it was very different with him at a later period, does not appear to have had much acquaintance with these writers at this time. These important views, therefore, which strike so deeply at the life of nature, and lay the foundation of a purified and perfected life, were new to him in a considerable degree, until he learned them, as we have just stated, in his acquaintance and correspondence with Madame Guyon.

2. Although they were thus introduced to his notice through the instrumentality of a woman, who, though greatly accomplished in other respects, possessed but a limited knowledge of theological writings, and who had learned them not so much from books as from the dealings of God with herself personally, they were nevertheless sustained by an inward conviction of their soundness. His enlightened and powerful mind, uninfluenced by the various prejudices which often prevent a correct perception, saw at once that they bore the signatures of reason and truth. And letting them have their full power upon himself, and endeavoring with divine assistance to be what he felt that he ought to be, he stood forth to the world, not merely a man, *but a man in the image of Christ*; not more commended by the powers of his intellect and the perfection of his taste, than by his simplicity of spirit, his purity, and benevolence.

3. It is in this inward operation, brought about under these circumstances, that we find the secret spring of that almost divine justice and benevolence, which impart unspeakable attractions and power to his writings. They seem to be entirely exempted from the spirit of selfishness, and to be bathed in purity and love. And I believe it is the general sentiment, that no person reads the writings of Fenelon without feeling that he was an eminently good and holy man.

4. On receiving the letter of Fenelon, of which we have given an abstract in the last chapter, Madame Guyon wrote a letter in reply, the substance of which is as follows:—

“To the Abbé de Fenelon.

“It gives me great pleasure to perceive, sir, that you have a clear understanding, as it seems to me, of the sentiments which I wished to convey; and it gives me satisfaction also to notice the remarks you have added. I agree with you entirely, that faith and reason, though different

principles of action, are not opposed to each other. He, however, who lives by faith, ceases to reason on selfish principles and with selfish aims; but submits his reason to that higher reason, which comes to man through Jesus Christ, the true conductor of souls. He who walks in faith, walks in the highest wisdom, although it may not appear such to the world. The world do not more clearly understand the truth and beauty of the life of faith, than the ancient Jews understood the divine but unostentatious beauty which shone in the life of Christ. A worldly mind, full of the maxims of a worldly life, is not in a situation to estimate the pure and simple spirit of one whose heart is conformed to the precepts of divine wisdom.

“In endeavoring to give you my views of the extent and nature of that transformation which the holy soul undergoes, you will notice, that I use the term *disappropriation*, and the phrase *entire disappropriation*, as convenient expressions for freedom from all selfish bias whatever. The phrase, perhaps, implies no more, in respect to the state of the heart, than that of *pure love*; although it is rather a more precise and appropriate mode of expression, when we are *speaking of the will*. I perceive that you understand and appreciate entirely the idea which I endeavored imperfectly to express; namely, that the *disappropriation* or *unselfishness* of the will is not to be regarded as perfect, merely because the will is broken down and submissive to such a degree as to have no repugnance whatever to any thing which God in his providence may see fit to send. It is true, this is a very great grace. In a mitigated sense, the will, under such circumstances, may be regarded as dead; but, in the true and absolute sense, there is still in it a lingering life. There still remains a secret tendency, resulting from former selfish habits, which leads it to look back, as it were, with feelings of interest upon what is lost: in other words, it puts

forth its purposes a little less promptly and powerfully in some directions, than it would have done if it had been required to act in others. Thus Lot's wife had determined to leave the city of Sodom: she vigorously purposed, in going forth from the home where she had long dwelt, to conform to the decrees of Providence, which required her departure; but still, as she passed on, in her flight over the plain, there was a lingering attachment, a tendency to return, which induced her to look back. Her will, though strongly set in the right direction, did not act in perfect freeness and power, in consequence of certain latent reminiscences and attachments, which operated as a hindrance. In like manner the Jews, when they left the land of Goshen, and were on their way to the better country which the Lord had promised them, often thought with complacency of their residence in Egypt, and of what they enjoyed there. So that, while their purpose was fixed, it was not so inflexible, and so easily and promptly operative, in the direction it had taken, as it would have been if it had not been under the influence of former evil habits. When the affections and the will are entirely surrendered to God, and the secret influences of former evil tendencies and habits are also fully done away, the soul may be regarded as sanctified in the higher sense, and as having become the subject of a divine union. Such was the meaning I intended to convey; and I believe you have received and appreciated it, as I intended.

“In regard to the principle of FAITH, I will farther say, that it sometimes lies latent, as it were, and concealed in the midst of discomforture and sorrow. I recollect, that in the former periods of my experience I once spent a considerable time in a state of depression and deep sorrow, because I supposed I had lost God, or at least had lost his favor. My grief was great and without cessation. If I had seen things as I now see them, and had understood them then as I now

understand them, I should have found a principle of restoration and of comfort in the very grief which overwhelmed me. How could I thus have mourned the loss of God's presence, or rather what seemed to me to be such loss, if I did not love him? And how could I love him, without faith in him? In my sorrow, therefore, I might have found the evidence of my faith. And it is a great truth, that in *reality*, whatever may at times be the *appearance*, God never does desert, and never can desert, those who believe.

"Desiring to receive from you, from time to time, such suggestions as may occur, and believing that your continued and increased experience in religious things will continually develope to you new truth,

"I remain, yours in our Lord,

"JEANNE MARIE B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON."

5. We come now to other circumstances, which diversify the features and the interest of this narrative. It was about this time, that Fenelon, selected in preference to other and able competitors, received from Louis Fourteenth the appointment of preceptor to his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy; — an appointment the more important and responsible, because the duke was the heir apparent to the throne of France. Fenelon was recommended to Louis as a suitable person to fill this place by the Duke de Beauvilliers, whom we have already had occasion to mention. Beauvilliers held at this time the office of governor to the grandchildren of the king, of whom the Duke of Burgundy was the eldest. It was proper, therefore, that he should take some interest and some responsibility in the selection of a suitable person to fill the office of preceptor; an office which involved the immediate superintendence and care of the education of this prince.

6. "Louis Fourteenth," says M. de Bausset, in remarking

upon these appointments, "had not hesitated for a moment as to whom he should select as a governor for his grandson; nor did Monsieur Beauvilliers [to whom the appointment of governor was given] hesitate a single moment, as to the choice of a preceptor. He nominated Fenelon to that office on the 17th of August, 1689, the very day after he had received his own appointment." The king approved the nomination, apparently with entire cordiality; and the choice, which was made under these circumstances, was greatly applauded in France. We have the recorded testimony of the celebrated Bossuet, who subsequently came into painful collision with Fenelon, how satisfactory and gratifying it was to him.

7. The appointment seems to have been unexpected to Fenelon; and he certainly received it without any solicitation on his part. The duty, which was especially assigned him, was to train up, in a suitable manner, the young prince, who was expected, in the course of events, to fill the throne. He could not be ignorant of the vast responsibility of such an undertaking; but he did not see fit to decline it. He was appointed to this office in the middle of August, and entered upon its duties in the September following.

8. His pupil, the Duke of Burgundy, had naturally but few of the elements which seemed requisite in one who was destined to be the ruler of a great people. In his natural dispositions he was proud, passionate, and capricious; tyrannical to those who were his inferiors, and haughty and disobedient to those who had the control of him.

"The Duke of Burgundy," says Monsieur de St. Simon, who had ample opportunities of knowing his character, "was by nature terrible. In his earliest youth he gave occasions for fear and dread. He was unfeeling and irritable to the last excess, even against inanimate objects. He was furiously impetuous, and incapable of enduring the least opposition,

even of time and the elements, without breaking forth into such intemperate rage, that it was sometimes to be feared, that the very veins in his body would burst. *This excess I have frequently witnessed.*" *

These unhappy traits of disposition, which all the historians of that period agree in ascribing to him, were perhaps rendered the more dangerous by being found in combination with very considerable powers of intellect. It was such a character, with intellectual powers so great, and passions so excessive, that was committed to Fenelon to be trained, corrected, and remodelled.

9. To this great task, upon the success of which apparently depended the hopes and happiness of France, Fenelon brought great powers of intellect, a finished education, and, above all, the graces of a pure, humble, and believing heart. It was this last trait, perhaps more than the others that have been mentioned, which had recommended him to the notice of the Duke de Beauvilliers. The duke had been acquainted for some time with his great excellencies in other respects; and, being a personal acquaintance and friend of Madame Guyon, he knew also the religious influences to which he had more recently been subjected. Beauvilliers was himself a religious man. It was natural, therefore, for him to desire, that the young prince, while he had other advantages and means of culture, should not be deprived of those connected with a religious example and with religious impressions. Such an example, and such religious impressions and influences, he had no doubt that he should find in Fenelon.

10. Fenelon undertook this difficult task, therefore, which he knew required something more than mere intellectual culture, as a *man of faith and prayer*. It would be interesting and profitable to enter into the details of his labors;

* See the Life of Fenelon, by de Bausset, vol. i. ch. 4.

but this would hardly be consistent with the plan of the present work. It is worthy of notice, however, and it shows with how much devotedness he engaged in them, that he wrote for the special instruction and benefit of this prince his well-known Fables, and also his Dialogues; works which have since contributed to the instruction and happiness of many persons. Each of the Fables, and also each of the Dialogues, was written on particular occasions and with particular objects; having been composed for the most part, when the teacher found it necessary to remind his pupil of some faults which he had committed, and to inculcate upon him the duty and the methods of amendment.

There is reason to suppose, that his celebrated work, entitled the *Adventures of Telemachus*, which was published many years afterwards, was also written at this time, and with the same general object. In this remarkable work, which is so generally read, we have a striking combination of sound judgment with great resources of imagination; so that it is difficult to say, which is most to be admired, the wisdom and benevolence of its political and moral maxims, or the richness and beauty of its imagery. This book, more than any other, has become the text-book of sovereigns, from which they have derived instructions which they would not be likely to find elsewhere; although its sublime and benevolent maxims have been too little followed.

11. But here it is natural to make the inquiry: — What one, among all the biographers of Fenelon, has thought of ascribing the truth, purity, and love, which appear in these remarkable writings, and still more in his religious writings, the most of which appeared at a later period, to the influence of Madame Guyon? It was at this very time, when sustaining this important position, and fulfilling these arduous duties, and composing these writings, that he was receiving from her private conversations, and from her correspon-

dence, influences and principles which can never die. With scarcely an exception, the biographers of Fenelon notice this circumstance very slightly ; and, in the little they have to say, speak less of the aid he received, than of the dangers he is supposed to have escaped. But it seems to me, that it is due to the truth of history, and is due also to the character and the fame of woman, that the facts should be known. If the writings of Fenelon, taken in all their relations and all their results, have exerted an influence probably not inferior to those of any other man, it ought not to be concealed nor to be disguised, that it was a woman's mind, operating upon the mind of their author, from which no small portion of the light which pervades and embellishes them first proceeded.

12. And I think it may be proper to say here, that this is another among the many facts, which go to show the vast extent, as well as the great diversity, of woman's influence. She not only forms man in childhood and youth, by that maternal influence which exceeds all other influence in wisdom, as well as in efficiency ; but in maturer years her power, though less obvious perhaps, does not cease to exist. Many are the minds, whose controlling energy is felt in the movements and the destiny of nations, and whose names are imperishable in the monuments of history, that have been sustained and guided in their seasons of action and endurance, in the origination of plans of benevolence and patriotism, and in the fortitude which carried them into effect, by the inspirations of woman's genius and the generous purity of her affections.

And I think it may be properly added, that none need this influence more than truly *great men*. None are so great in this life as to be beyond the need of support ; and there is something in our nature, which proclaims that the kind of support which they most frequently and most deeply need, is to be found here. Occupied with great conceptions, placed

in trying and hazardous situations, burdened with anxieties, and pressed with peculiar temptations, who need more than they the consolations of her sympathy and the suggestions of her prudence?

13. It is worthy of notice that Madame Guyon, in all her labors, appreciated relations and effects. The soul of Fenelon, in itself considered, was not more dear to her than that of any other person. But when she considered the relations in which he stood and the influence which he was capable of exerting, and that his mind was to be brought into contact with the minds of princes and kings, she felt more deeply than can be expressed, how necessary it was that he should be delivered from the power of inferior motives, and that he should act and live only in the Lord.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, on the very day after his appointment to the office of preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy, we find the following letter : —

[Paris,] “August 18th, 1689.

“To the Abbé de Fenelon.

“I have received without surprise, but not without sincere joy, the news of your appointment; — an appointment, however, in which it seems to me his majesty has done no more than respond to the just claims which you have upon this important office. For some time past, as it was necessary that the appointment should be made, I have had but little doubt, that it would devolve upon yourself.

“The last time in which I attended the religious service of mass, at which you administered, I had an impression on my mind, without being able to tell why it should arise, that I might not hereafter have so frequent opportunities to unite with you in this service. As my thoughts were thus, in some degree, directed to yourself, the secret prayer arose from my heart, — *Oh that, amid the artifices of the world to*

which he is exposed, he may ever be a man of a simple and childlike spirit! I understand now, better than I did then, why it was that the Lord gave me such earnest desires in your behalf.

“I should not be surprised, sir, if you should experience some degree of natural distaste and repugnance in relation to the office to which you are now called; but you will not fail to commit yourself entirely to the Lord, who will enable you to overcome all such trials, and will render all other necessary aid. When the moment of duty and of action comes, you may be assured that he will not fail to bestow upon you those dispositions and qualifications which are appropriate to the situation in which his providence has placed you. Act always without regard to *self*. The less you have of self, the more you will have of God. Great as are the natural talents which God has given you, they will be found to be useful in the employment to which you are now called, only in proportion as they move in obedience to divine grace.

“You are called, in God’s providence, to aid and to superintend in the education of a prince; — a prince, too, whom with all his faults God loves, and whom, as it seems to me, he designs to restore spiritually to himself. And I have the satisfaction of believing, that, in the discharge of this important office, you will feel it your duty to act in entire dependence, moment by moment, on the influences of the Holy Spirit. God has chosen you to be his instrument in this work; and he has chosen you for this purpose, while he has passed by others, because he has enabled you to recognize and appreciate, in your own heart, the divine movement. Although you may not, on account of the extreme youth of the prince, see immediately those fruits of your labors which you would naturally desire, still do not be discouraged. Die to yourself in your hopes and expectations, as well as in

other things. Leave all with God. Do not doubt, that the fruit will come in its season; and that God, through the faith of those that love him and labor for him, will build up that which is now in ruins. I cannot conceal from you, what I have already intimated, my conviction in view of the divine providences, that God has very merciful and favorable designs in relation to the spiritual interests of the prince; and perhaps you will be made a blessing to the king, his grandfather, also.

“In seeing you enter upon a new field of labor, I cannot forget, that our facilities of correspondence will be somewhat diminished. We shall not be able to see each other, or to write to each other, so often as we have done; but it will not follow, that those Christian sympathies which have sprung up between us, will be broken. A separation from each other will not interrupt and sunder the correspondence of the heart. My soul, in reference to yourself, and in its desire for your spiritual interests, is like a lamp which continually burns and consumes itself in the Lord’s presence.

“This morning, in particular, my mind was greatly exercised. And as I was thinking, in connection with your character, and your position in society, of the deep interest which I had felt, and which I continued to feel, the thought arose in my heart, *Why is it thus? why does the heavy responsibility of thus watching and praying rest upon me, and consume me? I am but a little child, an infant.* But a voice seemed to utter itself in my heart, and to reply:—*Say not that thou art a little one. I have put my word in thy mouth. Go where I shall send thee; speak what I shall command.*

“I speak, then, because I must do what the Lord has appointed me to do, and because the Lord employs me as an instrument, and speaks in me. Already my prayer is in part answered. When the work is completed, and when I

see, in the full sanctification of a soul which is so dear to me, all that I have looked for, and all that I have expected, then shall I be able to say, *Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace ; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.*

“I remain, yours in our Lord,

“JEANNE MARIE B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

14. In the early part of the year 1689, a few months before the events of which we are now speaking, an incident occurred, which may properly be mentioned here. It was at this time, that some priests and theological doctors made a visit to the city of Dijon and its neighborhood. And, apparently to their great surprise, they found a considerable religious movement in progress, of which Madame Guyon was the reputed author, and which was evidently sustained by the free circulation of her writings. The fact was, that, in her return from Grenoble to Paris in 1686, she took Dijon in her way, and spent a day or two there. This circumstance has not been previously mentioned. The time she spent there was very short ; but she left a deep impression on a few persons, especially Monsieur Claude Guillot, a priest of high character in the city. The seed, which was thus sown in the conversations held under these circumstances, enforced by a single sermon from La Combe, sprung up and bore fruit ; so that in 1689 the new religious principles excited much attention. The persons who visited Dijon at this time, coming as they seemed to have done with some degree of ecclesiastical authority, interposed, as far as they were able, to stop this state of things. Among other things they collected *three hundred copies of the work of Madame Guyon on Prayer, and caused them to be publicly burned.**

* Relation de l'Origine, du Progrès, et de la Condemnation du Quiétisme, p. 32.

15. The following poem, translated by Cowper, contains sentiments, which will be found conveyed in many other places of Madame Guyon's writings. She seems to have felt hardly less deeply than the Apostle John himself, that God is Love. And she often uses the expression, LOVE, as synonymous with the Divine Nature.

DIVINE LOVE ENDURES NO RIVAL.

Love is the Lord whom I obey,
Whose will transported I perform;
The centre of my rest, my stay;—
Love's all in all to me, myself a worm.

For uncreated charms I burn,
Oppressed by slavish fear no more;
For one in whom I may discern,
E'en when he frowns, a sweetness I adore.

He little loves him, who complains,
And finds him rigorous and severe;
His heart is sordid and he feigns,
Though loud in boasting of a soul sincere.

Love causes grief, *but 'tis to move*
And stimulate the slumbering mind;
And he has never tasted love,
Who shuns a pang so graciously design'd.

Sweet is the cross, above all sweet,
To souls enamor'd with thy smiles:
The keenest woe life ever meets,
Love strips of all its terrors and beguiles.

'Tis just, that God should not be dear,
Where *self* engrosses all the thought;—
And groans and murmurs make it clear,
Whatever else is loved, *the Lord is not.*

The love of thee flows just as much
As that of ebbing self subsides ;
Our hearts (their scantiness is such)
Bear not the conflict of two rival tides.

Both cannot govern in one soul ;
Then let self-love be dispossess'd ;
The love of God deserves the whole,
And will not dwell with so despised a guest.

CHAPTER IX.

1692. *Labors of Madame Guyon with others. Interviews with Madame de Maintenon. Unhappiness of the latter. Establishment of the Institution of St. Cyr. Interviews there between Madame de Maintenon and Madame Guyon. Labors of Madame Guyon with the young ladies of the Institution of St. Cyr. Letters to them. Madame Guyon visited by Sister Malin, resident at Ham. Public attention thus directed to her again. Her interview with the learned Peter Nicole. Interview with Monsieur Boileau, brother of the poet of that name. Writes at his suggestion the small work, entitled, A Concise Apology for the Short Method of Prayer. Poisoned by one of her servants. Temporary concealment. Friendship of M. Fouquet. His sickness and death.*

THE letters which passed between Madame Guyon and Fenelon, the greater part of them during this period of a little more than two years, or at most during a period of three years, from the time of their first acquaintance, occupy nearly a full volume of her printed correspondence. Nor was the influence which she exerted in relation to him, limited to her letters. The same great objects, which induced them thus to correspond with each other in writing, led them also, from time to time, to seek each other's company, with a view to a more direct interchange of opinions. These interviews, which at one period were frequent, coöperated with the other means that were used, in producing those marked results on the mind of Fenelon, the origin of which is to be ascribed to this period.

2. About the middle or in the latter part of the year 1690, her daughter, as we have already had occasion to notice, was married to the Count de Vaux. At this time, she left the house of Madame de Miramion, with whom she had taken up her residence since her imprisonment in the convent of St. Marie, and removed to the house of her daughter, with whom she resided till the year 1692. Her daughter's residence was a little distance out of the limits of the city. It was here, more than anywhere else, that Fenelon had interviews with her at this period.

"The family," she says, "into which my daughter was married, being of the number of the Abbe Fenelon's friends, I had frequent opportunities of seeing him at our house. At such times our conversations turned upon the subject of the inward and spiritual life. From time to time he made objections to my views and experience, which I endeavored to answer with sincerity and simplicity of spirit. The doctrines of Michael de Molinos, which were much conversed about at that time, were so generally disapproved and condemned, that the plainest things began to be distrusted; and the terms, which are used by writers on the spiritual life, were for the most part regarded as objectionable, and were set aside. But, notwithstanding these unfavorable circumstances, I was enabled, in our conversations, so fully to explain every thing to Fenelon, that he gradually entered into the views which the Lord had led me to entertain, and finally gave them his unqualified assent. The persecutions, which he has since suffered, are an evidence of the sincerity of his belief.

3. But while she was thus laboring and praying to renovate and to mould anew the mind of that remarkable man, whose benign influence has been felt by millions perhaps, who have known nothing of her, she found time and disposition to labor for others. During her residence at the house

of her daughter, where, besides frequent interruptions from company, she could not fail to be constantly reminded of the claims and duties of her near relationship, her religious labors, it is true, were somewhat circumscribed. But, as soon as it was clear that the new relations and interests of her daughter would permit, she felt that the claims of the great cause to which she had devoted herself, required her to alter her situation. And accordingly, after the lapse of about two years, she once more hired for her residence a private house in Paris, in which she had her time more fully at command, and where she could more readily pursue the objects of the mission to which her Saviour had called her.

4. It was in the year 1692, as I suppose, after she had thus established herself again in Paris, that her acquaintance with Madame de Maintenon became somewhat intimate. This celebrated woman, although for political reasons she was not publicly acknowledged as such, had been privately married, and in reality sustained, at this time, the relation of wife of Louis Fourteenth. She had his confidence as well as his affections ; and for many years the most important affairs of France depended, in a great degree, upon her cognizance and concurrence. Her power was felt to be hardly less than that of the king. The greatest men of the kingdom paid her homage. Every thing which wealth or art could furnish, was put in requisition to meet her wishes, and to render her happy. But still there was a void within her which the riches and honors of the world could not supply.

Her letters, which show her talents, and which discover many excellent points of character, disclose also a sorrow of mind which she felt could have no balm but in religion. It is not the world which can heal the wounds it has itself made.

5. Writing to Madame de la Maisonfort, she says:—
“Why can I not give you my experience? Why can I not make you sensible of that uneasiness which preys upon the great, and the difficulty they labor under to employ their time? Do you not see, that I am dying with melancholy, in a height of fortune which once my imagination could scarce have conceived? I have been young and beautiful, have had a high relish of pleasure, and have been the universal object of love. In a more advanced age, I have spent years in intellectual pleasures; I have at last risen to favor; but I protest to you, my dear Madame, that every one of these conditions leaves in the mind a dismal vacuity.”*

It was under these circumstances, and for these reasons, that she sought and valued the company of Madame Guyon. She needed the intercourse and advice of persons of piety; but such was her refinement, and such her position in life, that she naturally exercised some discrimination. She had been introduced to Madame Guyon, soon after her release from the prison of St. Marie; and there was something in her person and manners which attracted her; and still more in that divine aspect of purity and quietness, which announced a soul in harmony with God and at rest. She saw her, from time to time afterwards; and at the time of which we are now speaking, she went so far as to invite her to the royal palace at Versailles; and felt it no dishonor, as she certainly felt it a great satisfaction and relief, to hear from the lips of her misrepresented and persecuted visitant the story of a Saviour's condescension, of the remedy for sin, and of the victory which Christ can give over the ills of our fallen nature.

6. Among the objects which occupied much of the time and affections of Madame de Maintenon, was the celebrated

* See Voltaire's *Life of Louis Fourteenth*, vol. ii. chap. 26.

Female Institution of St. Cyr, established in 1686. She was, in fact, the foundress of it. It was a charitable Institution, combining both literary and religious objects, designed for the support and education of indigent young ladies, at any period under twenty years of age; the daughters of persons, who had suffered losses or spent their lives in the service of the state. Two hundred and fifty young ladies, many of them from illustrious but unfortunate families, were assembled there.

Tired of the splendor and cares of Versailles, and attracted by the quiet and benevolence of an institution founded on such principles, Madame de Maintenon spent much of her time, at this period, at St. Cyr. It was here that Madame Guyon met her still more frequently than at Versailles. St. Cyr not only furnished better opportunities for private and protracted conversations, but was rendered, by its retired and less worldly aspects, more appropriate to the objects which called them together.

And not only that, they could meet there without exciting the suspicions of Louis, who could not conceal his displeasure at every thing which had the least appearance of heresy. There were reasons, which would account for the presence of Madame Guyon at St. Cyr, which would not apply to her visits at Versailles. Madame de la Maisonfort, her friend and relative, was employed at this time as an instructress in the institution. In her visits also, from time to time, to the Duchess of Charost, at her residence at Beine, to whom she was now related by the marriage of her daughter, she was accustomed to take a route which led in the vicinity of St. Cyr. So that under these circumstances she found it not more agreeable to her feelings, than it was entirely convenient for her, frequently to visit there.

7. Madame de Maintenon, pleased and edified by the conversations and instructions of Madame Guyon, gave her

liberty to visit the young ladies of the Institution, and to converse with them on religious subjects. Nothing could have been more agreeable than such a labor, for which Providence seems to have especially fitted her. The results corresponded to her wishes and expectations. The divine presence and blessing which almost uniformly attended her in other places, did not desert her here. "Several of the young ladies," she says, "of the House or Institution of St. Cyr, having informed Madame Maintenon, that they found in my conversation something which attracted them to God, she encouraged me to *continue my instructions to them*; and by the great change in some of them, with whom she had previously not been well satisfied, she found she had no reason to repent it."

It was something new to the members of this institution, — some of whom were from fashionable though reduced families, while others of a more serious turn probably had nothing more than a *form* of godliness, — to hear of redemption, and of permanent inward salvation by *faith*. Probably all of them, without any exception, had been accustomed, more or less, to the ceremonials of religion; and it was not unnatural for them, those who were seriously disposed and those who were not so, to confound the ceremonial with the substance, the sign with the thing signified. This might not have been the case in all instances; but generally they regarded their acceptance with God as depending, in a great degree at least, on a number of outward observances, rather than on inward dispositions; and least of all did they understand the nature of a life which had its beginning and its end, its centre and its circumference, if we may so express it, *in the simple principle of faith*.

8. Turned by the conversation of Madame Guyon from the outward to the inward, led to reflect upon their own situation and wants, they saw that there is something better

than worldly vanity ; and began to seek a truer, sincerer, and higher position. They understood and felt deeply for the first time, that religion, something more than the mere ceremonial, is a *life* ; and that they only are wise, and true, and happy, who *live* to God. Precisely how far this moral and religious revolution went in this institution is not known ; but it seems to have been quite general. Certain it is that a seriousness pervaded it, such as had not existed there before : there was a general recognition of the claims of God ; and the spirit of faith and prayer, of purity and of true benevolence, took, in a great degree, the place of thoughtless scepticism and of frivolous gaiety.

9. We should hardly give a full view of the labors of Madame Guyon with this interesting society of young ladies, without adding that they were not limited to personal interviews and conversations. Not unfrequently she received from some of their number letters, proposing inquiries on the subject of inward experience and of practical duty, which she thought it proper to answer in writing. She sometimes wrote to them on special occasions, without being invited to it by formal inquiries. The following letter will illustrate her labors in this way :—

“ Mademoiselle ———,

“ I have heard of the news of your sickness, and not without being sensibly affected by it ; but it has been a great satisfaction to me to find, that God has been present with you, and that your outward sorrows have had an inward reward. Afflictions are the allotment of the present life ; and happy will it be, Mademoiselle, if you shall learn the great lesson of always improving them aright. This, I think, you will be able to do, if you are faithful to the *inward voice*.

“ Of the inward voice, or the voice of God in the soul, I

will endeavor to give you my views more distinctly than I have hitherto done, because it seems to me a matter of great practical importance, that you should understand what it is. This voice is not an audible voice, as the name might seem to imply ; but simply an act of the judgment, an internal and silent decision of the mind. But it is God's decision ; or, if you prefer it, it is God's *voice* ; the voice of God in the soul.

“ One of the most important conditions on which we can have this inward divine utterance, is this, — *The soul must be in perfect simplicity*. That is to say, it must be free from all the varieties of human prejudice and passion. All such prejudice, and all inordinate action of the passions of whatever kind, tend to pervert the judgment. And a judgment formed under such influences, and which therefore is necessarily a perverted one, can never be the decision or voice of God. It is an easy thing to grieve the Spirit of God. He dwells in and guides the soul, which, in looking at God's will alone, is in *simplicity* ; but he leaves the soul which is under any degree of selfish bias.

“ In order, therefore, to experience the inward divine guidance, and to hear the voice of God in the soul, we must lay aside all interests of our own, which are inconsistent with God's will, and also all such interests and claims of our friends. Prejudiced neither in favor of any thing, nor prejudiced against it, but laying both our inclinations and our aversions on the divine altar, it is necessary for us to possess a mind, if we may so express it, IN EQUILIBRIO ; that is to say, which is balanced from motives of self neither one way nor the other, and which remains in this state of strict and unselfish impartiality, until it is decided to some course of action by a motive drawn from God's will alone. Such a decision, which God not only recognizes but *makes*, is truly God's voice.

“To those who are wholly consecrated to God, and who fully believe in his promise, this voice is sure. In other words, God, acting through their sanctified judgments, will not fail to guide them in the right manner, so far as their own moral responsibility is concerned, and in such a manner also as will please himself. And it is my prayer, Mademoiselle, that you may have this inward divine guidance. I look upon it, not only as desirable, but as essential. Give me the satisfaction of hoping and believing, that you will not rest contented with any thing short of this state.

“Not doubting that you will receive the suggestions of this letter as the result of my sincere affection, and of my earnest desire for your religious good,

“I remain yours,

“JEANNE M. B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

10. The following letter appears to have been written to a married lady ; but it is quite probable, that she was one with whom Madame Guyon had previously become acquainted at St. Cyr. The terms of the letter show, at least, that this correspondent was one of those who looked to her for advice and instruction.

“Madame ——,

“Our friend N—— has departed. She was a choice and excellent young woman ; and, in leaving a world where she endured so many trials, she has received the recompense of her labors and sufferings.

“You are right, Madame, in saying in your letter that it is not common for us to meet with such treasures of grace. They are indeed more rare than can be expressed. Few, very few, go, as she did, to the bottom of the heart.

“The great majority of those who profess an interest in

religious things — those who are religious teachers and guides, as well as those who are seekers of religion — stop short, and are satisfied with remaining in the outside and surface of things. They ornament and enrich the exterior of the ark, forgetting that God commanded Moses to begin with the inside and overlay it with gold, and afterwards to ornament the outside. Like the Pharisees of old, they make clean the outside of the cup and platter, but leave the inside impure. In other words, while they endeavor to make a good appearance to men outwardly, they are inwardly full of self-love, of self-esteem, of self-conceit, and of self-will. How different the religious state, if such it may be called, of these persons from that of our departed friend !

“ Why do you make a difficulty, Madame, in speaking to me about your dress ? Should you not be free, and tell me all ? You have done well in laying aside the unnecessary ornament to which you refer. I entreat you never to wear it again. I am quite confident also, that, if you would listen to the secret voice which speaks in the bottom of your heart, you would find more things to put off. Perhaps you will say, that you must regard your husband’s feelings as well as your own. This is true ; but I am persuaded, that, in his present favorable dispositions, you will please him as much by laying aside those ornaments as by wearing them.

“ Consider what you owe to God, and promptly crucify all the pretexts of nature. You will never make any such crucifixion of the desires and pretences of the natural life, without drawing down some returns of divine grace upon you. He who promised a recompense even to a cup of cold water given for his sake, will not fail, on the same principle, to regard, and to recompense with his favor, the self-denial of his children, even in the matter of dress.

“ A Christian woman should be distinguished from others by a neat and modest dress, but not by a dress so affected

and ornamented as to attract attention. It is not necessary, however, to lay down an invariable rule. It is very proper, undoubtedly, that you should wear apparel which is suited to your situation and rank in life; but you will pardon me for suggesting the propriety and duty, besides the alteration to which I have already referred, of putting off those superfluous ribbons. I am confident that, in so doing, you will not be less pleasing in the eyes of your husband; and that you will be much more so in the eyes of Him whom you wish to please above all.

“I am desirous, when you write to me, that you should feel the greatest confidence and freedom. Do not be afraid to propose questions to me upon things which the world might regard as trifling. So far from lessening my esteem for you, it will have quite a different effect, because I infer from your anxiety in such particulars, that you have a disposition to give yourself wholly to God. It is a sign, I think, that God, in making you attentive and careful in the smallest things, is laying the foundations of his inward work in the very centre of the heart.

“Most earnestly I beseech you to be faithful to him. In following the divine guidance, and in doing the divine will, you will find a thousand times more satisfaction, than in the pleasures which the world can impart to you.

“Thus desiring that you may be guided and kept,

“I remain yours in our Lord,

“JEANNE M. B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

11. It is hardly necessary to say, that such an institution as that of St. Cyr, embracing within its walls many persons who were the hopes of celebrated families, was naturally a centre of influence. And, accordingly, such a religious movement as that of which the providence of God had made

Madame Guyon the instrument at this time, could not well take place, without being extensively known. It was thus that public attention was directed to her again. Her opposers, who seem to have supposed that her zeal would be checked by the discipline of her first imprisonment, and who had somewhat relaxed their watchfulness for a year or two past, were once more on the alert.

12. It was not only at Paris, at Dijon, at Versailles, and St. Cyr, that her influence was felt; but there began to be evidences of it in other places. A single incident will illustrate what we mean:—A sister Malin, (those females who were united in spirit, by being devoted to a religious life, were appropriately called *sisters*,) resident at the town of Ham in the then province of Picardy, was so deeply impressed with the necessity of religious instruction on principles different from those to which she had been accustomed, that she came to Paris for the sole purpose of obtaining such instruction from Madame Guyon personally. She had charge, at the place where she resided, of an institution for the education of girls; and seemed desirous to learn the truth for others as well as herself. To cases of this kind, Madame Guyon always gave a prompt and earnest attention.

13. Persons also sought her society who had no faith in her doctrines, but were either anxious to obtain further information, or to make her a convert to their own views. There were many such; and among them was the celebrated Peter Nicole, known extensively by a multiplicity of writings on various subjects, and as the friend and literary associate of Arnauld, the Port-Royalist. “There was an acquaintance of mine,” she says, “an intimate friend also of Monsieur Nicole, who had often heard him speak against me. This person thought that it would not be difficult to remove the objections and prejudices of Nicole, if we could be made personally acquainted with each other, and have opportuni-

ties of conversation together. He thought it important to make the attempt, because many who were opposed to the views I entertained, had received their impressions from him. Accordingly, although it was with some reluctance on my part, we met together.

“After some little conversation, he referred to my book, entitled the Short and Easy Method of Prayer, and made the remark that it *was full of errors*. Upon this I proposed to him, that we should read the book over together; and I desired him to tell me frankly and kindly those things in the book which seemed to him objectionable; expressing the hope, at the same time, that I might be able to meet and answer them. He expressed himself well satisfied with the proposition; and, accordingly, we read the book through together with much attention, chapter by chapter.

“After we had read it partly through, I asked him to specify his objections; but he replied, that, so far as we had read, he had none. After we had completed the book, and after he had looked here and there carefully for a long time, I repeated the question. Madame, said Nicole, I find that my talent is in writing, and not precisely in personal discussions of this kind. If you have no objections, I will refer you to a learned and good friend of mine, Monsieur Boileau. You will find him at the Hotel de Luines. He will be able to indicate the imperfections of the book, whatever they may be; and perhaps you will be able to profit by his suggestions.”

14. Nicole was a very learned man, and a great master of reasoning. But he had probably never read the book, although he supposed himself to be well acquainted with it by report; and hence his peculiar and not very creditable position at this time. A year or two afterwards, however, he published a book, in which he strongly attacked the opinions held by Madame Guyon, and others who entertained

similar sentiments, or rather their opinions *as he understood them.*" *

15. A few days after this interview with Nicole, she saw his friend, to whose acquaintance he had recommended her, Monsieur Boileau, a brother of the distinguished French poet and satirist of the same name. "He introduced the subject," she says, "of my little book on Prayer. I told him the state of mind in which I wrote it, and also the inward dispositions in which I then was. He remarked to me, that he was entirely persuaded of the sincerity of my intentions ; but he said that the book was liable to fall into the hands of some persons who might misapply and pervert it. I asked him the favor to point out the passages in it, which caused this anxiety; to which he assented. And, accordingly, we looked over the book together ; and when he came to such passages, I gave explanations, which seemed to satisfy him. We went through with the whole book, delaying more or less upon the places ; while I endeavored on my part to illustrate them from my own thoughts and experiences in a simple manner.

"When we had gotten through, he said to me, 'Madame, all that is wanted, in order to prevent misapprehensions in relation to your book, is a little more in the way of explanation.' And he pressed me very much to write something additional and explanatory, which I agreed to do. A few days after, I completed what he wished me to write, and sent it to him for his examination ; and he seemed to be

* The title of his work, which was the last one he wrote, was this : *Refutation des principales erreurs des Quiétistes, contenues dans les livres censurés par l'ordonnance de Monseigneur, l'Archevêque de Paris, [de Harlai,] du 16 Octobre, 1694.* — For some remarks on this work, see an interesting letter from La Combe to Madame Guyon, printed in the Works of Bossuet, Paris ed. 1836 ; also some remarks of Madame Guyon herself, in the eleventh chapter of Part Third of her Life.

well satisfied. I revised it once or twice; and he urged me much to print it."

16. The small work which originated under these circumstances, was not printed at this time, but sometime afterwards. It is entitled, *A concise Apology for the Short and Easy Method of Prayer*; and is usually printed, in the collection of her spiritual works, in connection with the larger treatise, which it is especially designed to elucidate. Although concise, it is a work which contains much valuable instruction of a spiritual nature, and is worthy of special attention.

17. It was under these circumstances, constantly laboring in the cause of religion, blessed in those labors continually to an extent seldom witnessed, listened to with great attention by the ignorant, and criticised or attacked by the learned, that her name came once more into general notice, and, with the exception of those who sympathized in her views, excited a general hostility. The outcries against her were loud, deep, and revengeful. Her enemies, seeing the difficulty of quenching the light of her piety by any ordinary means, resorted to the most dreadful measures. Attempts were made, through the instrumentality of one of her servants who seems to have been bribed for that purpose, to put her to death by poison. She refers to this painful incident very briefly.

"One of my servants," she says, "was prevailed upon to give me poison. After taking it, I suffered such exquisite pains, that, without speedy succor, I should have died in a few hours. The servant immediately ran away, and I have never seen him since. At the time, it did not occur to me that I was poisoned, until my physicians came in, and informed me that such was the case. My servant was the immediate agent in this wicked attempt; but I am in possession of circumstances which go strongly to show, that

others originated it. I suffered from it for seven years afterwards."

18. So great was the excitement against her at this time, that she thought it prudent to leave her house, and to remain in entire concealment for some months. No one knew where she was, except Monsieur Fouquet, the uncle of the Count de Vaux, her son-in-law. Of Fouquet we have already had occasion to speak. He was a man of eminent piety, and seems to have been desirous of devoting himself to God in all things. The marriage of his nephew with Mademoiselle Guyon opened the way for forming an acquaintance with the mother, with whose character and history, and probably with her writings, he was previously acquainted. He knew where she was concealed; obtained, by authority which he had from her, the funds that were necessary for her support; and kept her advised of the movements of her enemies.

Madame Guyon hoped, that, by retiring for a time altogether from notice, there would be some cessation to the attacks which were constantly made upon her. But she was mistaken. As soon as she disappeared, the report was circulated, that she had gone into the provinces, for the purpose of disseminating her doctrines there. So that the fact of her retirement, with such an interpretation put upon it, tended rather to increase than to allay the ferment. Under these circumstances she thought it best to return to her home, and to enter again upon the discharge of her ordinary duties, whatever might be the consequences.

19. Soon after this, an event occurred, which was calculated to add to her trials. It was the sickness and death of her friend and relative, Monsieur Fouquet. In this good man she found one who not only sympathized in her religious views and feelings, but aided her much as an adviser in her affairs, and as a personal friend. Madame Guyon

seems to have had entire confidence, not only in his religious experience, but in his practical prudence and in his friendly dispositions. And in consequence of the family connection now existing between them, she could consult him, and receive his advice and assistance, without being subjected to the suspicions and misinterpretations which might have attended the presence and aid of other well-disposed persons. His last moments were moments of triumphant peace. The following letter was written to him by Madame Guyon, a short time before his death : —

“To Monsieur Fouquet.*

“I have thought for some time, that you would not survive your present sickness. It has even seemed to me, that it would not be possible for you to live beyond the approaching celebration of the Holy Sacrament.

“Regarding, therefore, your departure as near at hand, I cannot help saying that, in losing you, I lose one of my most faithful friends ; perhaps I may add, that I lose the only friend, in whom, under existing circumstances, I can repose with entire confidence in all things. I feel my loss ; but the sorrow which I experience does not prevent my rejoicing in the happiness which is yours. It is not your situation which is to be regretted, but rather that of those who are left behind. God, who has made us one in spirit, has announced the hour of separation. May the blessing of our Divine Master rest upon you !

“Go, then, happy spirit ; — go, and receive the recompense reserved for all those who have given themselves to the Lord in a love which is pure. As we have been united in time, may we be united in eternity. Let your parting

* See *Lettres Chrétiennes et Spirituelles sur divers Sujets qui regardent la Vie Interieure*. Tome i. p. 646.

prayer be for her who is left behind, and for the spiritual children whom the Lord has given her, that in all time, and in all things, they may be faithful to his adorable will.

“Farewell ;—and, as you ascend to the arms of Him who has prepared a place for you, be an ambassador for me, and tell him that my soul loves him.

“JEANNE M. B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

CHAPTER X.

Efforts made in her behalf. She objects to the course which her friends propose to take. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. Remarks on his character and position. He becomes alarmed at the progress of the new doctrine. Seeks an interview with Madame Guyon at Paris in September, 1693. Second interview on the 30th of Jan. 1694. Some account of the conversation which passed between them. Effect of it upon Madame Guyon. Correspondence between them. Attacked with a fever.

IN this state of things, some of the friends of Madame Guyon, among whom I think we could not mistake in including the Dukes Beauvilliers and Chevreuse, undertook some measures in her behalf. Fearing either some acts of personal violence, or some impressions on the minds of those in authority, which might perhaps lead to a renewed imprisonment, they drew up a memorial addressed to the king, the object of which was to give a correct account of the incidents of her life and of her motives of action, with a view to vindicate and to protect her. This memorial was drawn up with the concurrence and approbation of Madame de Maintenon, who thought it proper, before it was employed in the way which was intended, to show it to Madame Guyon.

2. "This paper," says Madame Guyon, "although it was a pleasing evidence of the kindness of those who had a share in framing it, gave me some uneasiness. I had some doubts whether it was the will of God that I should be protected and vindicated in that manner. I was jealous of myself, lest

I should be found improperly resting upon a human arm, or too eager to be relieved from that burden of trial, which God's wisdom had seen fit to impose. Such were my feelings on this point, that I earnestly requested my friends not to take this course; but to leave me to the natural developments of providence, to be vindicated or to suffer, as my heavenly Father might see best. They respected my wishes; and the memorial was accordingly suppressed."

3. It was in connection with these circumstances, and such as have been detailed in the last chapter, that the new spirituality, as it was sometimes termed, first particularly arrested the attention of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. To those who are acquainted with ecclesiastical history, it is hardly necessary to say, that Bossuet was at this time confessedly the head of the French church. And if we estimate him chiefly by his intellectual strength, I think we may well say, that he deserved to be so. Possessed of vast learning and not greater in the amount of his knowledge than he was in the powers which originated and controlled it, he brought to the investigation of religious subjects, whether theological or practical, the combined lights and ornaments of research, of reasoning, and of rich imagination.

4. By his great work, entitled, *A History of the Variations of the Doctrines of the Reformed Churches*,* in which he had subjected the doctrines of Luther and of the other Protestant reformers to a severe scrutiny, he had not only acquired a splendid reputation, but had placed himself in a position which led him to be regarded by Catholics as emphatically the *defender of the faith*. This reputation, which might well fill any ordinary amount of secular or of ecclesiastical ambition, was so dear to him, that he had for many

* Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes.

years, as if by the strong instinct of habit, fixed his withering eye on the slightest heretical deviations. He knew well what was going on in France. But he who had broken the spear with the strongest intellects of the world, felt some reluctance to entering the lists with *a woman*.

It seemed to him impossible that Madame Guyon, whatever might be her talents and personal influence, could produce an impression, either in Paris or elsewhere, which would be dangerous to the church. And if it were so, was it not enough, that d'Aranthon and Father Innocentius, men of distinguished ability and of great influence, had already, in the early and distant places of her influence, set in motion measures of opposition ; measures which were sustained at Paris by the efforts of La Mothe and de Harlai, of Nicole and Boileau, aided by a multitude of subordinate agencies ?

5. But the result did not correspond with his anticipations. If such distinguished men as the Dukes of Beauvilliers and Chevreuse, and more than all if such a man as Fenelon, on whom the hopes of France had fastened as its burning and shining light, had come under this influence, to what would these things lead ? It seems never to have occurred to him, that the hand of the Lord might be in all this. He is not wise who thinks lightly of the influence of a woman who has the great intellectual powers, the accomplished manners, and the serious and deep piety of Madame Guyon. But suppose it to have been otherwise. Suppose her to have been fanatical in feeling and weak in judgment, as her enemies chose to represent her. Is it not true, that God has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty ? Has he not declared, and has he not sustained the declaration by the history of spiritual movements in all ages of the world, that

he has selected "*things which are not, to bring to nought things that are*"?

6. God will so work, he will employ such instrumentality, and under such circumstances, as to glorify himself. It was not Madame Guyon, but *God in her*, who produced these results. She had undergone those deeply searching and purifying operations of the Holy Spirit, which consume the pride and power, "the hay and the stubble" of nature, and leave the subject of it *nothing in himself*. When she thought of herself, she could find no term which so exactly expressed her situation as the word *Nothing*:—"I am *nothing*." But it was a favorite idea with her also, that the ALL of God—his presence, wisdom, and power—dwells, more than anywhere else, in the *nothing* of the creature. This, which even Bossuet seems not fully to have understood, was the source of her influence.

7. The case of Fenelon, in particular, troubled him; Fenelon, whose talents he knew, whose friendship he valued, and of whose piety and influence he had the highest hopes. He determined, therefore, though with some reluctance, to put forth his own great strength, and to risk his own splendid reputation, in the attempt to extinguish this new heresy. But he had known Madame Guyon only by report; and he thought it due to charity and truth, to form a personal acquaintance as a means of more distinctly ascertaining her views. He accordingly visited her, for the first time, at her residence in Paris, in company with the Duke de Chevreuse, who was an acquaintance and friend of Madame Guyon.

This interview appears to have taken place in September, 1693. The conversation was at first of a general character. In the course of what passed between them, Bossuet remarked, that he had formerly read, with a degree of satisfaction, her *Treatise on Prayer*, and also her *Commentary*

on the Canticles. As reference was thus made to her writings, the Duke of Chevreuse, who remained during this interview, observing probably a copy of it in the room, directed the attention of Bossuet to the work of Madame Guyon, entitled, *THE TORRENTS*. He immediately took the work, and cast his eye rapidly over some passages. When he had looked at it a few moments in this manner, he remarked, without condemning any thing, that there were some things in it, which required explanation.

In the course of this interview, Bossuet made a number of remarks on the necessity and reality of an inward and spiritual life, which were highly gratifying to Madame Guyon. The interview terminated with a proposition on the part of Madame Guyon, which was accepted by Bossuet, that he should obtain and examine at his leisure all her writings, and make known more definitely his opinions upon them.

8. A second meeting took place some four or five months afterwards. In the interval between them, the Duke of Chevreuse, with the permission of Madame Guyon, and in order to give him a full view of her history and character, put into the hands of Bossuet the manuscript of her *Autobiography*. He read it carefully, and politely wrote a letter to the duke, expressive of the interest he felt in it.

All her printed works also were submitted to him, so that when, after some months, they had the opportunity of meeting again, Bossuet felt prepared to state to her some of the objections which he felt to her views, as he understood them.

9. This second interview took place on the thirtieth of January, 1694. At the request of Bossuet, both this and his previous interview were kept as secret as possible. The reason he gave was, that the relations existing between him and the archbishop of Paris, who was probably jealous

of his superior knowledge and reputation, were such as to render it desirable. At his request, also, he met her, not at her own house, but at the house of one of his own friends, the Abbé Jannon, who lived in the street Cassette, near the Convent or House of the religious association, called the Daughters of the Holy Sacrament. The conference continued during the greater part of a day. The Duke of Chevreuse was present, and probably some other persons.

10. A small part of the conversation is given by Madame Guyon in her Autobiography. It would have been pleasing, if she had given the whole ; but what is wanting can, I think, be found and made up, in a considerable degree, from her subsequent correspondence with Bossuet, and from her work entitled, *A concise Apology for the Short Method of Prayer*. With these aids I have ventured to give the following conversation, as expressive of the substance of what passed between them, without attempting to give the precise terms of it. It is a conversation rendered remarkable by the nature of the topics, and by the relation of the parties ; and I think it should not be forgotten here, that, while Madame Guyon stood foremost among women of intellect as well as piety, Bossuet was at that time, as we have already remarked, the most distinguished of the theologians of Europe.

11. *Bossuet*. The doctrines which you advance, madame, involve the fact of an inward experience above the common experience of Christians, even those who have a high reputation for piety.

Madame Guyon. I hope, sir, it will not be regarded as an offence, if I indulge the hope and belief, that a higher experience, even a much higher one, is practicable than that which we commonly see.

Bossuet. Certainly not. But when we see persons going so far as to speak of a love to God without any regard to

self, of the entire sanctification of the heart, and of divine union, have we not reason to fear, that there is some illusion? We are told, that there is "none that doeth good and sinneth not."

Madame Guyon. There is no one, with the exception of the Saviour, who has not sinned; and no one, who may not be described as a sinner. There is no one who is not now, and will not always be, entirely unworthy. Even when there is a heart which divine grace has corrected and has rendered entirely upright, there may still be errors of perception and judgment, (involuntarily it is true, but resulting from a previous state of sinfulness,) which will involve relatively wrong and injurious doing, and render it necessary, therefore, to apply continually to the blood of Christ. But, while I readily concede all this, I cannot forget, that we are required to be like Christ; and that the Saviour himself has laid the injunction upon us to love God with all our heart, and to be perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect. My own experience has added strength to my convictions.

Bossuet. Personal experience is an important teacher. And as you have thus made a reference to what you have known experimentally, you will not think it amiss, madame, if I ask the question, whether you regard yourself, as public report asserts to be the case, as being the subject of this high religious state, and as possessing a holy heart?

Madame Guyon. If you understand by a holy heart, one which is wholly consecrated and devoted to God, I see no reason why I should deny the grace of God, which has wrought in me, as I think, this great salvation.

Bossuet. The Saviour, madame, speaks in high terms of the man who went up into the temple, and smote upon his bosom, and said, "God be merciful to me a sinner."

Madame Guyon. It is very true, sir, that this man was a sinner; but it is also true, that he prayed that God would

be merciful to him ; and God, who is a hearer of prayer, did not mock either his sorrows or his petitions, but granted his request. If I may be allowed to speak of myself, I think I may say, that I too have uttered the same prayer ; I too have smitten upon my bosom in the deep anguish of a rebellious and convicted spirit. I can never forget it. Months and years witnessed the tears which I shed ; but deliverance came. My wounds were healed ; my tears were dried up ; and my soul was crowned, and I think I can say with thankfulness, is now crowned, with purity and peace.

Bossuet. There are but few persons who can express themselves so strongly.

Madame Guyon. I regret that it is so ; and the more so, because it is an evidence of the want of *faith*. Men pray to God to be merciful, without believing that he is willing to be merciful ; they pray for deliverance from sin and for full sanctification, without believing that provision is made for it ; and thus insult God in the very prayer which they offer. Can it be possible, that one like yourself, who has studied the Scriptures so long and so profitably, can doubt of the rich provisions of the gospel in this matter ; and deny, in the long catalogue of the saints of the Catholic church, that any of them have been sanctified ?

Bossuet. I am not disposed, madame, to deny, that the doctrine of sanctification, when properly understood, is a doctrine of the Catholic church. I cannot forget the rich examples which are found in a St. Francis de Sales, in a St. Theresa, and in the celebrated Catharines. But I cannot deny, that I am slow to admit the existence of this great blessing in individual cases. The evidence should be very marked. This, you will admit, is a proper precaution. And conceding that the promises of God are adequate to these great results, and admitting the general truth of the doctrine of sanctification, I must still offer inquiries which involve

very serious doubts in relation to some of its aspects, as they are presented in your writings.

Madame Guyon. I have always been ready, sir, to confess my ignorance ; and having no system to maintain, and no object to secure, separate from the doing of God's will and the manifestation of his glory, I have no reluctance in submitting what I have said to your correction.

Bossuet. In looking over the manuscript, which gives some account of your own personal history, in which I have generally been interested and satisfied, I was somewhat surprised to see, that, in a certain passage, you speak of yourself as the woman of the Apocalypse.

Madame Guyon. I recollect that there is something of this kind. As I read the passage in the Apocalypse, which speaks of the woman who fled into the wilderness, I must confess, as I thought of myself as driven from place to place for announcing the doctrines of the Lord, it did seem to me, that the expressions might be applied, not as prophetic of me, but as illustrative of my condition. There are some things in the account of my life, which probably are of no consequence, and would not have been written, had it not been for the urgency of my confessor, who required every thing to be inserted.

Bossuet. I am willing to accept your explanation in this particular entirely, and will proceed now to some things which seem to me to be essential. It is not merely my object to criticise, but, in part at least, to obtain explanations, in order that I may understand the subject more fully myself, and that I may know, in the situation in which I am placed, what course it is proper to take. You will excuse me, therefore, for asking in a proper spirit of inquiry, what you mean by being in the state, which is variously denominated the state of holiness, of pure love, and of Christian perfection.

Madame Guyon. This question might, I suppose, be answered in various ways. But as some of these terms, in their application to human nature, are in some degree odious, and are at least liable to be misunderstood, I will say here, that I understand, by being in the state to which you refer, much the same thing as I understand by being in the state of entire self-renunciation. He who is NOTHING, he who is lost to himself, he who is dead to his own wisdom and his own strength, and who, in the renouncement of his own life, lives in God's life, may properly be called a holy man ; and, in a mitigated sense of the terms, may perhaps be called a perfect man. True lowliness of spirit, as I have now explained it, accompanied by such faith in God as will supply the nothingness of the creature from the divine fullness, involves the leading idea of what, in experimental writers, is denominated Christian perfection. Perhaps some other name would express it as well.

Bossuet. I am glad to find, madame, that you entertain such views of Christian perfection as are consistent with lowliness of spirit. The Saviour himself says, "*He, that is least among you all, the same shall be great.*" And the Apostle to the Gentiles, eminent as he was in sanctity, describes himself as the "*least of the apostles.*"* I believe it is true, that eminently holy persons feel their dependence and nothingness more entirely than others.

But is it a mark, madame, of Christian lowliness to disregard the principles and practices which have been sanctioned by the wisdom and piety of many ages? In your Short Method of Prayer, there are some expressions which seem to imply, that the austerities and mortifications which are practised in the Catholic church are not necessary.

Madame Guyon. I admit that my views and practices

* Luke ix. 48. 1 Cor. xv. 9.

differ in this particular from those of some other persons. I cannot say that I do now, with the views which I at present have of the power and the applications of faith, attach that importance to austerities and practices of physical mortification, which I once did. My view now is this. Physical sufferings and mortifications, which tend to bring the appetites into subjection, and to restore us in that respect to harmony with God, are of great value ; they are a part of God's discipline, which he has wisely instituted and rendered operative in the present life : but then they should not be self-sought or self-inflicted ; but should be received and submitted to, as they come in the course of God's providence. In other words, crosses are good ; our rebellious nature needs them ; not those, however, which are of merely human origin, but those which God himself makes and imposes.*

Bossuet. I am doubtful, whether your views on this subject ought to be considered satisfactory. But we will leave them for the present, to be further examined, perhaps, at some future time.

I might ask again, Is it consistent with Christian humility, with true lowliness of spirit, to lay down the principle, as I find you have done in the work entitled *THE TORRENTS*, that souls in the highest religious state may approach the Sacramental Communion, and may partake of the sacred element which is offered in it, without special preparation ?

Madame Guyon. I am entirely confident, sir, that the highest religious experience is not opposed, and cannot by any possibility be opposed, to the truest humility. I say

* See, in connection with the topics introduced in this chapter, and in addition to the statements made in the *Life of Madame Guyon*, the Treatise, entitled, *Courte Apologie du Moyen Court* ; also the work of Bossuet, entitled, *Instruction sur les Etats d'Oraison*. See also a letter of Monsieur Pirot, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, printed in the works of Bossuet, vol. xii.

further, that I fully appreciate the great importance of a careful and thorough preparation for the occasion of the Holy Eucharist. But still it does seem to me, that a soul, wholly devoted to God and living in the divine presence, moment by moment, if it should be so situated as not to enjoy the ordinary season of preparatory retirement and recollection, would still be in a state to partake of the sacramental element, and would be accepted in it. I am aware that it is difficult for those who are not in this religious state, to conceive of what I now say; but their inability of perception does not alter the fact, if the fact be such as I suppose it to be.

Bossuet. If you design, madame, to limit the remark made in THE TORRENTS, to some extreme case of this kind, it will be regarded, I suppose, as less objectionable than it would otherwise be. I have no other desire or object than that of ascertaining what is true. I repeat, that I do not object to the doctrine of Christian Perfection, or of Pure Love, or whatever other name may be given to it, when considered in its general form; but I cannot deny, that I have serious objections to particular views and particular forms of expression which I sometimes find connected with it. I find, from time to time, in your works, modes of expression which strike me as peculiar. Without delaying, therefore, on the general features of the doctrine, I will take the liberty to direct your attention to a number of things which characterize it, in part, as it appears in your writings. I will illustrate what I mean. I find, in expression at least, what strikes me as very peculiar, that you make God *identical with events*. You say, in nearly so many words, particularly in the work entitled the TORRENTS, that to the sanctified soul every thing which exists, with the exception of sin, is God.

Madame Guyon. In reply to this remark, it seems to me proper to observe, in the first place, that the doctrines of

sanctification are sometimes erroneously or imperfectly represented in consequence of the imperfection of language. As they are the doctrines of a life which is almost unknown to the world, it is but natural that they should have no adequate terms and phrases ; so that we readily admit, that we express ourselves awkwardly and with difficulty. Is it unreasonable, under these circumstances, to ask the favor of a candid and charitable interpretation ?

Bossuet. I admit, madame, the existence of the difficulty to which you refer, and think it should be considered.

Madame Guyon. With this concession on your part, I proceed to admit on mine, that the assertion, taken just as it stands, namely, *that every event is God*, is not true ; even when made with the exception of those things which are sinful. But I still affirm, that the expression has a definite and important meaning to the truly sanctified soul. Such a soul, in a manner and degree which ordinary Christians do not well understand, recognizes the fact, that God sustains a definite relation to every thing which takes place. God is in events ; and, if he is the centre and controller of the universe, he cannot be out of them. The sanctified soul not only speculatively recognizes the relation of God to events, but feels it ; that is to say, it is brought into a practical and realized communion with God through them. You will find this form of expression in the writings of Catharine of Genoa. She says, that every thing which took place, was God to her ; because she found, in a sense which the world did not and could not understand, that God was in every thing.

Bossuet. I notice also, as another illustration of the objectionable parts of your writings to which I have just now referred, that you sometimes speak in them, as if the will of God, as well as outward events, were identical with God himself. I think, madame, you will perceive on reflection, that such statements, whatever may be said in defence of

them, are likely to be misunderstood, and that, in point of fact, they are not strictly true. I illustrate my meaning thus. We always use the term MAN as including the *whole* of man, and of course as including something more than the mere will of man. In like manner we use the term God as expressive of the whole of God, his intellect and affections, as well as his will. So that to speak of the will of God, which is but a part, as identical with God, which is the whole, is necessarily erroneous.

Madame Guyon. I have no disposition, as I should not have good grounds to do it, to object to the correctness of your remark. But I ought to say perhaps, and naturally supposed, that I should be understood in that manner, that, in speaking of the will of God as identical with God himself, I used the terms in a mitigated or approximated, and not in a strict or absolute sense. But, while I make this concession, I am still inclined to say, in this case as in the other, that practically and religiously we may accept the will of God as God himself not only without injury, but with some practical benefits.

Certain it is, that God is manifested in his will in a peculiar sense. We can more easily make a distinction between God and his power, and between God and his wisdom, than we can between God and his *will*. The will or purpose of God, in a given case, necessarily includes something more than the mere act of willing: it includes all that God can think in the case, and all that God can feel in the case. And I must confess, that the will of God, whenever and wherever made known, brings out to my mind more distinctly and fully the idea, and presence, and fulness of God, than any thing else. This is so much the case, that, whenever I meet with the will of God, I feel that I meet with God; whenever I respect and love the will of God, I feel that I respect and love God; whenever I unite with the will

of God, I feel that I unite with God. So that practically and religiously, although I am aware that a difference can be made philosophically, God and the will of God are to me the same. He who is in perfect harmony with the *will* of God, is as much in harmony with God himself, as it is possible for any being to be. The very name of God's will fills me with joy.

Bossuet. I notice that the terms and phrases which you employ, sometimes differ from those with which I frequently meet in theological writings. And perhaps the reason, which you have already suggested, explains it in part. But still, I repeat, they are liable to be misunderstood and to lead into error; and hence it is necessary to ascertain precisely what is meant. You sometimes describe what you consider the highest state of religious experience as a state of *passivity*; and at other times, I believe, speak of it as *passively active*. I confess, madame, that I am afraid of expressions which I do not fully understand, and which have the appearance at least of being somewhat at variance with man's moral agency and accountability.

Madame Guyon. I am not surprised, sir, at your reference to these expressions; and still I hardly know what other expressions to employ in the cases where they are particularly applicable. I will endeavor to explain. In the early periods of man's religious experience, he is in what may be called a *mixed life*; sometimes acting from God, but more frequently, until he has made considerable advancement, acting from himself. His inward movement, until it becomes corrected by divine grace, is self-originated, and is characterized by that perversion which belongs to everything coming from that source. But when the soul, in the possession of pure or perfect love, is fully converted, and every thing in it is subordinated to God, then its state is always either passive, or passively active.

But I am willing to concede, which will perhaps meet your objection, that there are some reasons for preferring the term *passively active*; because the sanctified soul, although it no longer has a will of its own, is never strictly inert. Under all circumstances and in all cases, there is really a distinct act on the part of the soul, namely, an *act of coöperation with God*; although, in some cases, it is a simple coöperation with what *now is*, and constitutes the religious state of submissive acquiescence and patience; while in others it is a coöperation with reference to what *is to be*, and implies future results, and consequently is a state of movement and performance.

Bossuet. I think, madame, I understand you. There is a distinction, undoubtedly, in the two classes of cases, which you have just mentioned; but as the term *passively active* will apply to both of them, I think it is to be preferred. You use this complex term, I suppose, because there are two distinct acts or operations to be expressed, namely, the act of preparatory or *prevenient* grace on the part of God, and the coöperative act on the part of the creature; the soul being passive, or merely perceptive, in the former; and active, although always in accordance with the divine leading, in the other.

Madame Guyon. That is what I mean, sir; and I feel obliged to you for the explanation.

Bossuet. Is your doctrine, then, in this particular, much different from that of antecedent or prevenient grace, which we generally find laid down in theological writers, and which implies, in its application, that there is no truly good act on the part of the soul, except it be in coöperation with God?

Madame Guyon. I do not know, that the difference is great; perhaps there is none at all. I am willing to ac-

knowledge that I am not much acquainted with theological writers.

Bossuet. Would it not be desirable, madame, that those who exercise the function of public teachers, should have such an acquaintance? As women are not in a situation to go through with a course of theological education, it has sometimes seemed to me, that it would be well for them to dispense with public missions, till they are in a situation to avail themselves of a higher intellectual culture.

Madame Guyon. I do not doubt, sir, that your remark is well meant. The want of such qualifications as those to which you refer, has frequently been with me a subject of serious consideration, and of some perplexity. Nevertheless I sincerely believe, that it is God who has given me a message, in a humble and proper way, to my fellow-beings; but I am aware of its imperfect utterance. But, in his great wisdom, he sometimes makes use of feeble instruments. And I have thought, as he condescended, on one occasion at least, to employ a dumb animal to utter his truth, he might sometimes make use of a woman for the same purpose.

Bossuet. I merely refer to the subject, without wishing to press it. I should be sorry to say any thing, which would imply a limitation to the wisdom and providence of God.

Another thing, which I have noticed in your writings, is this. You speak of those who are in the state of unselfish or pure love, which I suppose you regard as the highest religious state, as contemplating the *pure Divinity*; implying in the remark that they contemplate God in a different way from what is common with other Christians.

Madame Guyon. What I mean is this. There are two ideas of God; the COMPLEX, and the simple or PRIMARY. In the order of mental development, the complex is first; but in the order of nature, the simple or primary idea is first. The complex idea is that which embraces God, not so much

in himself, as in his attributes ; — his power, wisdom, goodness, and truth. The beginners in the religious life are very apt to stop and rest in this idea ; and they can hardly fail to lose by it. To think of God's power, making his power a distinct and special subject of attention, *is not to think of God*. To think of God's benevolence also, in this specific and individualizing manner, is not to think of God ; but is merely to think of a certain attribute, which pertains to him. It is well understood, I suppose, that we may form an idea of matter, in distinction from the attributes of matter ; and that we may form an idea of mind, in distinction from the attributes of mind ; — a notion or idea, which is simple and undefinable, it is true, but which has a real existence. And in like manner we may form an idea of God, in distinction from the attributes of God. It is not only possible to do this ; but it is impossible not to do it, on the appropriate occasions of doing it. The very idea of an attribute implies an idea of a subject to which the attribute belongs. To speak of the attributes of the human mind or of God, independently of the idea of such mind or of God considered as distinct from such attributes, would be an absurdity. There are two ideas of God, therefore ; the one of God as a subject, the primary idea, which is simple and undefinable ; the other of God as a combination of separate divine attributes, which is complex, and is consequently susceptible of analysis and definition. God, revealed in the first idea, and considered, not as a mere congeries of attributes, but as the subject or entity of such attributes, is what I call, and I think not without some reason, the Pure Divinity. Persons in the sanctified or unitive state, in distinction from the meditative or mixed state, generally receive and rest in God as developed in the first or primary idea. It is natural to them to do so, and it is not more natural than it is appropriate and profitable. When they depart from that idea, it is almost a

matter of course that they indulge in meditative and discursive acts, which tend to separate them from the true centre ; and they thus lose that consciousness of oneness with God, which they have when their hearts unite with him as a God *simple*.

Bossuet. Permit me to ask, madame, whether you mean in these remarks to discourage meditative and discursive acts, such as are implied in an analysis and due consideration of the divine attributes ?

Madame Guyon. Not at all. Such acts are very important ; but they have their appropriate place, and are much more suited to lower states of experience than that purified and contemplative state of which we are now speaking.

Bossuet. The distinctions you have made, and the explanations you have given, although not obvious without considerable reflection, seem to me reasonable and satisfactory. But I must confess, that I cannot allege a personal acquaintance with that experience which unites the soul with God as he is developed in the primary or elementary idea.

Madame Guyon. I hope, sir, that you will not take it amiss, when I say, that I regret that you find it necessary thus to speak of a defect of personal experience. The theology of the head is often obscure and uncertain, without the interpretation of the higher theology of the heart. The head sometimes errs ; but a right heart never.

Bossuet. I hope, madame, that I have experienced something of the grace of God ; but I am free to acknowledge, that I have not arrived at what you and other writers who sympathize with your views, call the *fixed state*. Is it possible, that any one should believe, that Christians, however devoted they may be, will arrive at a state in the present life, where there are no vicissitudes, and where there is perpetual sunshine ? This is another point on which it would give me great satisfaction to obtain your explanations.

Madame Guyon. In using this form of expression and others like it, it is not meant to be said, that the sanctified soul is not characterized, in its experience, by any vicissitudes whatever. But still, when the soul has experienced this great grace, the mind is comparatively at rest. Is a fixed state, understanding the terms in this manner, less desirable than an unfixed state? Is there any thing, which is to be especially commended in the changes, in the alternations of energy and of weakness, of faith and of unbelief, which characterize the lives of ordinary Christians? All that is meant by the fixed state is a state which is established, which is comparatively firm, which is based more upon principle than upon feeling, and lives more by faith than by emotion. Those who live by faith, who see God equally in the storm and the sunshine, and who rejoice equally in both, know what I mean; while those who do not thus live, can hardly fail to be perplexed.

Bossuet. I will proceed now to mention one thing, in connection with this form of religious experience, which seems to me worthy of special notice. Those who arrive at the highest religious state are so far above the common wants, or rather suppose themselves to be so far above such wants, as not to recognize and urge them in acts of supplication. At least, such is often understood to be the fact. But it is hardly necessary to say to you, that the Scriptures command us to pray always, to pray without ceasing. The language of the Saviour is, "*Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.*"

It seems to me very clear, that prayer is a thing not only of perpetual command, but of perpetual obligation.

Madame Guyon. I am pleased, sir, that you have introduced this subject. So far from the truth is it, that persons, who have experienced the blessing of PURE OR PERFECT LOVE, cease to pray, that it is much nearer the truth to say,

that they pray always. Certain it is, that the prayer is always in their hearts, although it may not always be spoken. We sometimes call this state of mind the *prayer of silence*. It is perhaps a prayer too deep for words ; but it is not on that account to be regarded as *no prayer*. Do you state your difficulty precisely as you wish to have it understood ?

Bossuet. It is not easy for me to understand what prayer is, unless it be *specific*. And in order to give my difficulty a precise shape, I will attach that epithet, and say, that the system of present sanctification, or pure love, seems to exclude *specific* requests, prayers for particular things.

Madame Guyon. And, supposing it to be so, which is not the case, is that state of mind to be thought lightly of, which does not ask for particular things ? — which says to the Lord continually, I do not ask for this or that, I have no desire or petition for any thing in particular, *but desire and choose for myself only what God desires and chooses* ? I admit, that this, in general, is the state of mind in those who have experienced the blessing of a perfectly renovated life. As a general thing, their state of mind is one of praise rather than of petition. They have asked, and they have received. If, at a given time, they ask for nothing more, ask for nothing in particular, it is because they are full now.

It is well to state, perhaps, that persons in this state of mind cannot easily separate *God's will from what now is*. What God gives them now, he *wills to give them now* ; and in that will, which always excludes sin, but often permits temptation and suffering, they are satisfied ; they want nothing more ; they rest. They experience in themselves the fulfilment of those blessed directions of the Saviour, which none but a holy heart can fully receive and appreciate : —

“ Wherefore, take no thought, saying, What shall we eat ? or, what shall we drink ? or, wherewithal shall we be clothed ? (for all these things do the Gentiles seek ;) for your heav-

only Father knoweth, that you have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you. Take, therefore, no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself."

In these words there is to my mind a divine meaning, such as the world does not understand. Take my own situation, my own case. My wants are already supplied, richly, abundantly, and running over. What have I, then, to ask for? What *can* I ask for when my soul rests in God, and is filled with the fulness of God; and when he leaves me neither time nor strength for any thing but to receive his favors, and to bless him?

Bossuet. Will you permit me to ask, in connection with one of your remarks, whether you mean *literal* fulness?

Madame Guyon. I do not know, sir, that I understand the precise import of your question.

Bossuet. I am led, madame, to ask the question, by an association which is suggested by your expressions. In reading your Life, I notice that upon more than one occasion you speak of such effusions of grace, that your very physical system dilated, as it were, and enlarged with them, so as to render it necessary to relieve yourself by some readjustments of your apparel.

Madame Guyon. I recollect that there was a time in my religious experience, when my emotions were so strong, that my physical system was, on one or two occasions, very much affected; so much so that I obtained some relief in the way which you have mentioned. And as, in writing my life, my religious director required me to be very particular and to write every thing, I thought myself bound to mention the circumstance to which you allude. Nor do I know that there is any thing very astonishing in the fact, or improper in the statement of it. It is well known that remarkable

effects are sometimes produced upon the physical system by excited natural emotions, as well as by those which are religious. I was quite overcome, I well recollect; and it was necessary for my friends to render me some assistance in such manner as seemed to them proper and best; but I take this opportunity to say, that I do not consider emotive excitement as always identical with true religious experience, and still less with the highest kind of experience. Great physical agitation, originating in strong emotions, is generally connected, either directly or indirectly, either at the time or at some antecedent period, with a high degree of inward resistance. But, in the highest degree of experience, all such resistance is taken away; the whole soul is in harmony both with itself and with God; and there is quietness, such as the world does not know; a great inward and outward calm.

Bossuet. This is, in part, a digression. Let us return to the subject of which we were speaking. We were speaking upon prayer. If I understand you, your soul *rests*: that is the term you employ. That is to say, it is satisfied with what it now has in God; and you have nothing to pray for *in particular*.

Madame Guyon. I think the term *rest* expresses this state very well. It is the rest of *faith*. But such a state does not exclude prayer. On the contrary, the sanctified soul is, by the very fact of its sanctification, the continual subject of that prayer which includes all other prayer, namely, *Thy will be done*. When the whole church can utter that prayer with one heart and a true heart, the world will be renovated. I wish, however, to correct what may perhaps be an error in your view of the subject.

This prayer, in which the holy soul rests, as in its pleasant and perpetual home, is not at all inconsistent with *specific* prayer. God, who has a regard to our situation and to the relations we sustain, and who has the control of the mind

that has given all up to himself, does not fail to inspire the consecrated soul with specific desires appropriate to times, places, and persons; though always in subordination, as they always ought to be in subordination, to his holy will.

Bossuet. You will notice, that it is not so much my object to criticise your explanations, as to receive them; and, where I do not regard them as entirely satisfactory at present, to make them the subject of future meditation. I proceed, then, to say without any further remarks on the matters which have already been suggested, that the state of mind which you advocate is supposed to lead to inaction.

Madame Guyon. I do not readily see, sir, how such a statement could well apply to myself, who have hardly known, whatever may be true of my mind, what it is to rest outwardly and physically.

Bossuet. I think, madame, it will not; but such an impression could hardly arise without some foundation for it. And I should be glad to hear what can be said in relation to the prevalence of an idea, which is certainly an unfavorable one.

Madame Guyon. The foundation, sir, of this idea is in the fact, I suppose, that the truly holy soul ceases from all action, which has its *origin in merely human impulse*. It is the characteristic of souls, which are in this state, that they move as they are moved upon by the Holy Ghost. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." * They move, therefore, in God's order; neither falling behind by indolence, nor precipitated by impetuosity. They move in God's spirit, because they are sustained by faith; benevolent, just, immutable in their purpose, so far as immutability can be predicated of any thing that is human, but always without violence. Such sometimes appear to be

* Rom. viii. 14.

inactive, because their action is without noise. But they are God's workmen ; the true builders in his great and silently rising temple ; and they leave an impression, which, although it is not always marked and observable at the time, is deep, operative, and enduring. In this respect at least, I think we may say, that they are formed in the divine likeness. God is the great operator of the universe ; but what he does, is generally done in silence. The true kingdom of God comes "without observation."

Bossuet. I will not pursue these inquiries farther at present, except in one particular. There are some expressions, madame, in your writings, — and it is the same, I suppose, in other writings of a similar character, — which seem to imply the extinction of all desire. Man is a perceptive and sentient being ; and I do not hesitate to say, that the extinction of all desire, so far from rendering him more religious, would render him a brute.

Madame Guyon. This difficulty is almost identical with one which has already been considered : still it may not be improper to give it a separate notice. I am aware, sir, that those who have gained the inward victory, very frequently speak of the extinction of desire as a characteristic of this state, and as an evidence of it. How can those desire, who already have every thing ? How can those be in want, who are already full ? But I suppose that their meaning is, and can be, only this. They have lost all natural or unsanctified desire. They do not desire any thing in themselves and of themselves ; any thing *out of God*, in the sense of being irrespective of his will.

Bossuet. Why, then, do they not say what they mean ? The form of expression, as we frequently find it, is certainly a peculiar one.

Madame Guyon. In the first place, sir, if their meaning is understood as I think it would be likely to be by most

persons, the more concise expression is the preferable one. But there is perhaps a special reason for their expressing themselves in the manner they do. The state in which they are, is not only one of right or sanctified desire, but of very strong faith. Their faith necessarily takes the form of believing, that every thing in their situation, with the exception of sin, is in accordance with God's will, and cannot be otherwise. Consequently all their desires are met, and perfectly met, in the occurrences of each moment; and this is done, not only so perfectly but so quickly, that the desire and the fulfilment of the desire are not very distinct in the consciousness, but seem to be mingled together; so much so that the person does not, in general, have a distinct recollection of the desire. Hence it is natural for such persons, for this reason, as well as because all unsanctified desires are in reality dead, to speak of their being without desire. In this manner the expressions originate.

11. There were a number of other topics taken up in the course of the conversation. One was the transmission of divine grace from herself to others, which she had spoken of in her writings, as if it were a perceptible or sensible transmission; adding that the divine power or influence, which was transmitted through herself as an instrument, returned back with all its blessedness into her own soul, when it was not received by others. The difficulty in these passages of her writings is, that she describes things as they *seemed* to be, and not as they really are; and thus gave to the spiritual operation a sensible or material character, which is not appropriate to it.

When, for instance, she was in the company of persons who were seriously disposed, but still were without religion, her mind was not only prayerful, but sad and burdened, on their behalf. When she witnessed in these persons a disposition to receive the truth and other evidences of a yielding

and changing spirit, she at once experienced relief in her own mind; her prayer was answered; the burden was removed. So that *apparently*, and looking at the subject in the merely human light, something seemed to pass sensibly and literally from herself to others. And describing the thing according to the *appearance*, rather than according to the *fact*, she justly gave occasion for the inquiries and criticisms of Bossuet.

12. Another matter of inquiry was this. While she freely spoke, when occasion rendered it proper, of the subjection of her natural selfish life, and of her renovation and union of spirit with the divine life, there were some passages in her writings, which Bossuet called to her attention, which seemed to imply, that there was such a want of any thing remarkable in her state, that she found it difficult to describe it or speak of it. She says, for instance, in one passage of her *Autobiography*, "My state has become simple, and without any variations. It is a profound annihilation. I find nothing in myself, to which I can give a name."

13. She explained these passages by saying, that they were to be understood in a comparative sense. Beginners in the religious life are necessarily inquisitive, agitated, active, but often spasmodic and variable in their action, and full of various kinds of emotion. It is obvious, therefore, that almost every day and hour presents something in their experience, which may be made the subject of notice and of interesting conversation. But the soul, in a higher state of experience, has reduced the multiplicity and agitations of nature to the one simple principle of union with God's will. It is united to God's will by faith. God is immutable; therefore there is a centre of rest.

14. We may illustrate the subject in a variety of ways. A child, finding its parents out of the house, runs about with great noise; its inquiries and cries are heard in the whole

neighborhood ; but, as soon as its parents are found, it sits down quietly. It makes less noise, but it has more peace ; it is less talked about, but it is more happy.

The beginners in science, in the mathematics for instance, advance from step to step with great effort. Their efforts attract notice, because they are made in various ways, and under a variety of motives and excitements. When they miss in their calculations, they are depressed with sorrow. When they are successful, and find their problems fully solved, they run to tell their neighbors, and sometimes shout with joy. But it is not so with the great masters of the science, a Newton for instance. These last, while they are inwardly thoughtful and operative, are nevertheless always calm, and often silent ; because they are not seekers and progressors in the ordinary sense of the terms, but have *the mathematics in themselves*. And so in relation to any thing else ; religion among other things. The more we know and possess of it, the greater is our simplicity and rest of spirit.

15. On this subject Madame Guyon frequently used this illustration. All fountains and rivers have a tendency to the ocean. They oftentimes flow with great violence ; overcoming obstacles, dashing against rocks, but foaming and rushing around them with great noise ; but when they meet and mingle with the mighty ocean, all is peaceful, because they have reached the place of their rest.

It was in this way, and by means of such illustrations as these, that she endeavored to explain her own state. The life of faith, when faith is perfect, is a very simple one. The principle of faith is to the soul, considered in its relation to God, what the principle of gravitation is to the physical universe ; uniting all, harmonizing all, but always without confusion and noise, and with the greatest simplicity of operation.

16. In giving, in this remarkable conversation, some ac-

count of her own state, she uses an illustration which is worthy of some notice, although I am not sure, that it is in all respects an appropriate one. Bossuet was examining her on the point of her inability to originate, by her own movement, distinct inward acts. In explaining herself on this subject, she said that the truly purified soul, in the simplicity of its temper and in its relations to God, seemed to her to be like the *pure water*.

“Nothing,” she says, “is more simple than water; nothing is more pure. In this respect it may be regarded as an emblem of the holy soul. But this is not all. Among other things, water has the property of yielding readily and easily to all impressions which can be made upon it. And here we have another striking incident of resemblance. As water yields with inconceivable readiness to the slightest human touch, so does the holy soul yield, without any resistance, to the slightest touch of God; that is to say, to the slightest intimations of the divine will. Again, water is without color; but it is susceptible of all colors. So the holy soul, colorless in itself, reflects the hues, whatever they may be, which emanate from the divine countenance. Again, water has no form; but takes the form of the vessels, almost endless in variety, in which it is contained. So the holy soul takes no position or form of itself, but only that which God gives it.”

And these statements she did not hesitate to apply to herself. They illustrated the state of her own soul. Her soul, fulfilling its mission in its simple coöperation with divine grace, had nothing of itself. It had its form, its brightness, and its movement in God. What God desired she desired; what God willed, she willed; what God said, she said. Her business was coöperation, not origination. There was a voice in her spirit, inaudible but always heard, or rather inaudible to men, but always heard by Him who

inspired it, which responded, in harmony with all holy beings, with an UNIVERSAL AND ETERNAL AMEN.

17. This conference, which took place on the 30th of January, 1694, continued the whole afternoon and evening. We have not undertaken to repeat every thing which was probably said; but have detailed enough, perhaps, to give the reader a general and correct idea of the relative position and views of the two parties. It was a trying day to Madame Guyon. The acute and discriminating mind of Bossuet, formed to grapple with the most difficult subjects, subjected her to an examination, both intellectually and religiously, such as she had never passed through before. But he had the satisfaction of finding her, to a degree beyond his anticipations, ready to acknowledge where she was wrong, to explain where she was obscure, and to defend herself, beyond the ordinary power either of man or woman, where she knew and felt herself to be right. But still it was a trying season to her; a season which required quickness of thought, entire purity of intention, and religious patience.

18. Bossuet, who had been an instructor of princes, was no stranger to the French court, and to the presence and intercourse of polite and courtly men; but still he was more addicted to books than to society, and thought more of arguments than of manners. He was a *great* man, (speaking after the manner of those who see things out of their relation to God;) but, accustomed to the supremacy of his intellectual power, he was apt to be dictatorial and rough in his greatness. And this ponderous roughness of manner, which corresponded well with the weighty and strong movement of his intellectual action, was but little conciliated and softened by the presence and the finer sensibilities of woman.

Madame Guyon refers to this peculiarity of Bossuet, not in the way of complaint, but merely in explanation of what she endured in this and some subsequent conferences. "He

was evidently," she says, "unfavorably affected towards me by the secret efforts of some persons resident in the neighborhood where we met. He spoke almost with violence, and very fast, and hardly gave me time to explain some things which I wished to explain. I was so agitated, in one or two instances, by his authoritative and apparently dictatorial manner, that I entirely lost my recollection. We parted from each other very late in the evening; and I returned home so wearied and overcome with what had passed between us, that I was sick for several days."

19. Bossuet seems, in general, notwithstanding the unfavorable prepossessions to which Madame Guyon refers, to have been satisfied with this interview. But there were some things in her writings, or in what she said at this time, which he did not yet fully understand. Perhaps it was owing to the want of the corresponding inward experience. "The light," says the Scripture, "shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehendeth it not." This is as true of the partially sanctified as it is of the beginners in the religious life. They sometimes treat lightly, and perhaps entirely reject, the problems of sanctification; because, through the want of personal experience, they do not comprehend them.

"As there were some things," she says, "which he could not understand, or to which he could not reconcile himself, I wrote several letters to him after this interview, in which I endeavored, in the best manner I was able, to elucidate these difficulties. He was so kind as to send me a long letter in return of more than twenty pages, from which it very clearly appears, that he was somewhat embarrassed by the newness of the subject, and in consequence of the imperfect knowledge he had of the interior ways of the Holy Spirit, of which none are able to judge except from experience."

20. I am aware, that this suggestion of Madame Guyon, which implies a want of intellectual perception on the part

of Bossuet, arising from a want of inward experience, may sound strange to those whose favorable associations with that distinguished man have hitherto admitted of no exceptions. And truth requires us to say, if we may judge from the evidences of a serious and consistent life, that, if he was eminently learned and intellectual, he was also decidedly moral and religious. At the same time, it is entirely evident, I think, that he would have understood and appreciated his opponents better, particularly Madame Guyon, if he had stood in the same rank in the gradations of inward experience. It is impossible for a man to philosophize correctly on the natural passions, who has had no knowledge of them himself. And it is the same in religion. In order to describe religion, we must first know it; and to describe it and elucidate it in its different degrees, we must know it in those degrees. And it was in connection with such views as these, that she requested Bossuet, in the course of the conference between them, to judge her by the heart rather than by the head.

21. A short time after this interview with Bossuet, probably not more than a few weeks, she was seized with a violent attack of fever. It continued forty days. It seemed probable that she would not recover. Her soul rested calmly in God; never more so than when the great change appeared near at hand. She was enabled, during this sickness, to dictate a few letters, to be sent to her religious friends. In them she expressed the earnest prayer, that "God would finish in those to whom she thus wrote, the good work which He had begun." She said, "if she had been the instrument of any good to them, she was merely an instrument, and the honor belonged to God alone; and it was her prayer, that he might fully accomplish and preserve that which was his own, namely, the spirit of an entire renunciation of themselves. She exhorted them to bear the cross

patiently, and to follow Jesus Christ with hearts filled with his pure love. If she should be taken from them now, she wished them to look upon it as an event illustrating anew the wisdom and goodness of God ; and was desirous, while they turned their thoughts and hearts to him as the source of all truth and all good, that they would cease to think of her, and would let her pass from their memory as a thing unknown." From this sickness, however, which assumed so threatening an aspect, she recovered.

CHAPTER XI.

1695. *Opposition to her doctrines continues. Louis Fourteenth appoints three commissioners, Bossuet, De Noailles, and Tronson, to examine them. Their character. She prepares and lays before them the work, entitled, Justifications. Account of the first meeting of the commissioners. Exclusion of the Duke of Chevreuse from the meeting. Course taken by Bossuet. She has interviews subsequently with the Bishop of Chalons and Monsieur Tronson. No condemnation passed upon her at this time. Of the articles of Issy. She retires for a time to the Convent of St. Mary in Meaux. Her remarks on a charge of hypocrisy made against her. A Poem.*

THE conferences of Madame Guyon with Bossuet were, in a great degree, private. Whatever impressions, therefore, might have been left upon the mind of Bossuet, whether more or less favorable, they did not satisfy the feelings of the public. Madame Guyon was almost universally considered as the teacher of a new doctrine. It was to be expected, therefore, at a time when every thing new was suspicious, that the outcry against her would be general. Her character was assailed, as well as her doctrine. Under these circumstances she wrote to Madame de Maintenon, requesting that a number of suitable persons might be selected, for the purpose of judging both of her doctrine and her morals ; and offering, at the same time, to submit to any degree of confinement and restraint, until it should please the king to appoint such persons.

To this request Madame de Maintenon returned an answer to the Duke de Chevreuse. The duke was instructed to inform Madame Guyon, that she had laid the subject before the king, who not only approved of a new examination of her writings, but thought that persons eminent for their virtues and talents should be employed on the occasion. And, accordingly, in a short time he appointed three commissioners, Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, Monsieur Tronson, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpitius, and Monsieur de Noailles, bishop of Chalons, to make inquiries, and to do what they thought proper in the case.

2. The persons were all eminent men. The Bishop of Chalons was afterwards appointed Archbishop of Paris, and was subsequently made a Cardinal. The Superior of St. Sulpitius was a man eminent alike for his talents and virtues, whose memory is cherished and venerated to the present day. Of Bossuet we have already had occasion to speak.

Whether we consider their learning, their position in the church, or their general character, no objection could reasonably be made to these persons. The selection of such distinguished men, for the purpose which has been specified, was itself a marked tribute, if not to the correctness of her sentiments, at least to the great intellectual power and the personal influence of Madame Guyon.

3. Madame Guyon sent to them, at their request, the manuscript of her Autobiography, so far as it was then written, her book on Prayer, the experimental work entitled *The Torrents*, and her manuscript Commentaries on different parts of the Scriptures. It was at this time that she prepared with great labor her valuable work, entitled, *Justifications of the Doctrine of Madame Guyon*.* In this work she endeavors to sustain and justify her views, by quotations

* *Justifications de la Doctrine de Madame Guyon.*

from a multitude of writers on the subject of experimental religion; not omitting even the Greek and Latin Fathers. She sustains herself, in particular, by references to the writings of St. Dionysius, Cassien, St. Bernard, John Climacus, Catharine of Genoa, John of the Cross, St. Theresa, Henry Suso, Thomas à Kempis, Gerson, Ruysbroke, Thauler, John de S. Samson, Harphius, Blossius, Ruis de Montoya, and others.

4. She refers to this work, which she prepared in her own defence, and with the expectation that it would be examined by the commissioners, in the following terms: — “In order to facilitate the examination which I expected to undergo, and to spare the commissioners as much time and trouble as I could, I collected together a great number of passages out of approved spiritual writers, for the purpose of showing, that my own statements and views were in accordance with those of such writers, and with the Holy Scriptures. It was a large work. Having written it out, I caused it to be transcribed on separate quires of paper, and sent in this manner to the three commissioners. I also, by remarks appended to these extracts, endeavored to clear up some doubtful and obscure passages in my writings. When I first wrote, the troubles in relation to Michael de Molinos had not broken out; so that I used less precaution in expressing my thoughts than I might otherwise have done, not imagining that my expressions would be turned into an evil sense. This work was entitled the *Justifications*. It cost me fifty days’ labor; but it seemed to me sufficient to clear up and establish my case.”

5. The first meeting of the commissioners was appointed to be held in August, 1694. They were expected to meet at the house of Bossuet. Where his house was, is not said; but probably in his own diocese, and in the town of Meaux. At the appointed time, Madame Guyon went there, accom-

panied by her friend, the Duke of Chevreuse, of whose piety and distinguished position we have formerly spoken. The Bishop of Chalons came also ; but Tronson was sick, and did not come.

For some reason, Bossuet was not at home when they arrived, and did not come till some hours afterwards. This gave Madame Guyon a favorable opportunity to explain her sentiments to the Bishop of Chalons, who was a man of candor as well as piety. He listened kindly and patiently to her remarks ; uniting the civility of the gentleman and the Christian with a sincere disposition to do justice.

6. After some time, Bossuet came in. It was then towards evening. After a little time spent in general conversation, he opened a packet which he had brought, apparently containing papers having relation to the objects of their meeting. He then turned to the Duke of Chevreuse, and observed to him, that the affair, having relation to matters of doctrine, was entirely ecclesiastical in its nature ; and as the decision of such cases belonged exclusively to bishops, he did not think it proper for one who was not a bishop to be present. The presence of any person, not a member of the commission, would tend to interrupt and diminish their freedom. The Duke of Chevreuse was not a man either to resist such an intimation, or to be offended at it, and very readily withdrew.

7. Madame Guyon was somewhat affected at this incident. The general principle of Bossuet was undoubtedly correct ; but it seemed to her, that it was not justly applicable under the present circumstances. The object of the meeting, as it seemed to her with much reason, was not so much to settle doctrines for the church, as to estimate and pronounce upon the opinions and character of an individual. And recollecting how much she had suffered, both physically and mentally, in her former interviews with Bossuet, she

thought she needed the presence and assistance of some one who understood both her character and opinions. The Duke of Chevreuse, in compliance with her earnest request, had kindly consented to render his aid. De Noailles seems to have had no objection to his being present, but did not openly advocate it; Bossuet was entirely decided, and would not consent to it.

8. "I was greatly surprised," says Madame Guyon, "at the exclusion of the duke. I must confess that the reason assigned for his exclusion seemed to me rather a pretence, than a reason assigned in good faith. I could not but think, that the Bishop of Meaux was unwilling to have present a man of such an established character, who might afterwards be a witness to the world of what passed between us. Why should he not have been there, as I requested him to be? What could be more natural than the presence of a person so eminent in the world, so famous both for piety and learning, so greatly interested in the clearing up of these matters, that both he and others might be undeceived, if, against my intention, I had instilled notions into them contrary to the purity of the faith? Such a witness might have served to confound me, if I had spoken differently from what he had been accustomed to hear me speak. He might have been undeceived himself, and been instrumental in undeceiving others, if in these peaceable conferences I had been convicted of errors. This was one of the things proposed and anticipated, when the measure of appointing commissioners to examine me was first suggested. But why do I thus allude to subordinate instruments, as disappointing my expectations? We are apt to look at men and at men's doings. *It was God who did not permit them.*"

9. In this interview, as in the former one, in the early part of the year, and in a still greater degree, the Bishop of Meaux exhibited his characteristic vivacity of expression

and manner; so much so, as sometimes, in the opinion of Madame Guyon, to violate the ordinary rules of kindness and civility. A single incident will illustrate her remark. After alluding to other inquiries and topics of conversation, which came before them on this occasion, Madame Guyon observes, "I was then proceeding to show to the bishop, that the doctrines which are found in my writings were in conformity with those which appear in other approved writers on inward experience. He replied to my remarks, that he was much surprised at my ignorance. And not satisfied with distinctly asserting my want of knowledge, he did not hesitate to cast ridicule upon my modes of expression; and obviously endeavored to darken, and to turn into mere jargon, every thing which I said; especially when he observed that Monsieur de Noailles began to be touched and affected by the turn of our conversation. When I am treated in this violent manner, I am apt to become confused and forgetful. And, accordingly, I thought it proper to drop the discourse with Bossuet, and said nothing."

10. "De Noailles," she adds, "treated me with all possible civility. When I directed my conversation to him, he took the pains to write down some of my answers. Noticing the rough manner of Bossuet, he endeavored to soften and ward off the blows from me, as much as he could."

After this conference, the topics of which were probably much the same as those which were discussed in her former interview with Bossuet already mentioned, she adds, "I went to see the Bishop of Chalons again. I found him alone, and had a free conversation with him. Although some persons had tried to prejudice him against me, he appeared to be well satisfied, and repeated several times that he saw nothing which required to be changed, either in my views of prayer, or in any thing else. He suggested, however, that, in consequence of the existing state of things, it

might be well for me to live in a manner as retired as possible, but that, in other respects, I should go on as I had done ; and said, that he would pray to God to augment his goodness towards me."

11. She had not as yet seen the other commissioner, Monsieur Tronson, who was too much out of health to be present at the first meeting. It was thought proper, therefore, that she should visit him at his country residence at the village of Issy, not far from Paris. She was attended there by the Duke of Chevreuse. Unrestrained by that agitation and confusion of spirit which troubled her in the too animated and violent conversations of Bossuet, she says, "I conversed with Monsieur Tronson with all the freedom imaginable. He was very particular and exact in his examinations, more so than the others. Formal questions were put, and answers corresponding to them were given, which were taken down in writing by the Duke of Chevreuse. When the examination was completed, the duke made the remark to Monsieur Tronson, ' You cannot fail to see, sir, as it seems to me, the evidences of her sincerity and uprightness.' He answered, ' I feel it well.' And that expression, if I may be allowed to say so, was not unworthy of this distinguished servant of God, who judged, in relation to the matter before him, not only by his understanding, but by the *feelings of his heart*. I then took my leave, with the consolation of believing, from his appearance at least, that Monsieur Tronson was well satisfied, although a forged letter against me had been sent to him."

12. Although Bossuet was, in general, satisfied with the statements and explanations which were made in his previous and private interviews with Madame Guyon, he was not entirely so. There were some things in which the parties were distinctly at variance with each other. She says expressly, in reference to what took place at those interviews,

“The sincerity of spirit, of which I made a profession, did not allow me to hide from him, that there were some things in which I could not obey him, how great a desire soever I had to do it.” And at the present time also, and after these more recent conferences, they did not yet fully agree; perhaps less so than ever before.

But such were the favorable sentiments of De Noailles and Tronson towards her, that no condemnation of any kind was passed at this time. Still the public voice, generally clamorous beyond what is just, was not silenced; and probably for this reason in particular among others, because it was understood that Bossuet was not entirely satisfied.

13. “After these successive examinations,” says Madame Guyon, “which resulted in proving nothing against me, it would have been a natural supposition, that my opposers would leave me at peace. But it was quite otherwise. So far from being propitiated, either by the defect of evidences against me, or by the evidences in my favor, they seemed to be inspired with new energy in their hostile efforts. Nothing was proved; but the Bishop of Meaux was not entirely satisfied. Under these circumstances, it seemed to me best to propose to him to put myself for a time under his more immediate inspection. I made the offer to take up my residence within the limits of his diocese, in some religious house or community, in order that he might become the better acquainted with me. He seemed pleased with the plan, and proposed that I should become for a time a temporary resident or boarder in the Convent of St. Mary, in the town of Meaux, [where he himself generally resided.] Perhaps his readiness to accept this proposal was not altogether disinterested. Supposing that, if it were carried into effect, it would tend to allay the existing excitement and alarm, he remarked to Mother Elizabeth Pickard, the prioress of the convent into which I entered, that it would

be as good to him as the archbishopric of Paris or a cardinal's hat. When she told me of it, I replied, God will not permit him to have either the one or the other."

The result verified the remark. It was not a remark which was instigated by mere impulse, but was probably founded on her profound religious insight into the divine providences, taken in connection with her knowledge of the bishop's character, and of the opposing influences which surrounded him. Bossuet had no cardinal's hat.

14. Thus terminated the business of the commission, so far as Madame Guyon was concerned; at least for the present. Such, however, was the interest felt, in relation to the principles involved in the subject of inward experience, that it seemed to the commissioners, that something further remained to be done. The king, at least, would expect them to do something more. They agreed, therefore, after they had finished their business with Madame Guyon, to continue their meetings for the purpose of considering such topics, in the hopes that something might be agreed upon, which should furnish a common basis of belief and action.

On account of the ill health of Monsieur Tronson, their conferences were continued at his country residence, in the village of Issy. They met a number of times. The result of their deliberations, which came before the public in the course of a few months, was the document, which was afterwards so frequently mentioned in the debates of that period, under the denomination of the *Articles of Issy*.

15. These celebrated articles, which are thirty-four in number, indicate, so far as they go, the views of the authors of them on the subject of PURE LOVE, which was the expression, at that period, for the highest inward experience. If our limits allowed, we should think it well to copy them. They are drawn up with care, and express, in a manner

unexceptionable, some of the leading ideas in the doctrines of a holy life. If they are defective, it is not so much by what they say, as by what they leave unsaid. They express the truth, but not the *whole* truth. That is to say, there are some points in inward experience which they do not reach; nor do they profess to do so. It seems to have been with this view of them, that Madame Guyon gave her assent to them, when they were presented to her some time after this.

16. The ancient town of Meaux is situated twenty-five miles north-east from Paris, on the river Marne. For that place, in accordance with her arrangements with Bossuet, Madame Guyon set out in the month of January, 1695. She was accompanied by the faithful maid-servant, La Gautière, who had shared in her labors and travels for the past fourteen years. The weather was unpropitious, the season severe. The conveyance in which they travelled, became involved in the snows, and could not at once be extricated; so that they were detained some hours, and suffered much from the cold.

Being obliged to leave the carriage, "we sat upon the snow," she says, "resigned to the mercy of God, and expecting nothing but death. The snow melted upon our garments; and both of us, the girl and myself, were exceedingly chilled; but I never had more tranquillity of mind. My poor maid was also entirely submissive and quiet, although we saw no likelihood of any one coming to our succor, and were sure of dying if we remained there. Occasions like these are such as show whether we are perfectly resigned to God or not. At length some wagoners came up, who with difficulty drew us through the drift. It was ten o'clock at night when we arrived at Meaux. The people of the convent, who had received some notice of our coming, had given over expecting us, and had retired to rest."

After considerable delay, which added to their sufferings, the nuns were called up, the bishop was informed of their arrival, and they were formally admitted.

17. In this part of her Narrative, speaking of Bossuet, a man so distinguished that we love to learn every thing we can in respect to him, Madame Guyon says, "He had his good intervals, but he was not beyond the reach of personal and interested motives. And in regard to myself, I cannot doubt, that he was under the influence of persons who endeavored to excite him against me."

In this remark she probably had in mind an observation, implicating her sincerity, which was said to have dropped from him. It was, that her coming to Meaux so promptly, and in such uncomfortable weather, was a mere *artifice*; indicating a readiness on her part to fall in with his wishes, and to take a proper course, which did not really exist.

The charge of artifice, or rather of hypocrisy, coming from a man of so high character, naturally arrested her attention. It was perhaps a false, or at least an exaggerated report; but she believed it, at the time, to be true. She makes the following remarks upon it:—

18. "Those men, who look at the tree with an evil eye, account its fruits to be evil. I am said to be charged with being a hypocrite. But by what evidence is the charge supported? It is certainly a strange hypocrisy, which voluntarily spends its life in suffering; which endures the cross in its various forms, the calumny, the poverty, the persecution, and every kind of affliction, without any reference to worldly advantages. I think one has never seen such an hypocrisy as this before.

"So far as I understand the subject, hypocrites have generally two objects in view: one is to acquire money, the other is to acquire popularity. If such are the leading elements involved in hypocrisy, I must do myself the justice to say,

that I disclaim any acquaintance with it. I call God to witness, that I would not have endured what it has been my lot to endure, if by so doing I could have been made empress of the whole earth, or have been canonized while living. It was not earth, but God, that called me. I heard a voice, which I could not disobey. I desired to please God alone; and I sought him, not for what he might give me, but only for himself. I had rather die, than do any thing against his will. This is the sentiment of my heart; a sentiment which no persecutions, no trials, have made me alter.

“It is true, that my feeble nature has sometimes been greatly burdened. Sorrows have come in upon me, like a flood. I have been obliged to say with the Psalmist, *All thy waves and thy billows have gone over me*; and with Jeremiah, *Thou hast caused the arrows of thy quiver to enter into my reins*. Being accounted by everybody a transgressor, I was made to walk in the path of my suffering Saviour, who was condemned by the sovereign pontiff, by the chief priests, the doctors of the law, and the judges deputed by the Romans. But the love of God rendered my sorrows sweet. His invisible hand has supported me. My purpose has remained unchanged. Happy are they who are sharers with Christ in suffering.”

THE ACQUIESCENCE OF PURE LOVE.

[From the Translations of her Poems by Cowper.]

LOVE! if thy destined sacrifice am I,
Come, slay thy victim, and prepare thy fires;
Plunged in thy depths of mercy, let me die
The death, which every soul that lives, desires.

I watch my hours, and see them fleet away;
The time is long that I have languish'd here;

Yet all my thoughts thy purposes obey,
With no reluctance, cheerful and sincere.

To me 'tis equal, whether love ordain
My life or death, appoint me pain or ease ;
My soul perceives no real ill in pain ;
In ease or health no real good she sees.

One good she covets, and that good alone,
To choose thy will, from selfish bias free ;
And to prefer a cottage to a throne,
And grief to comfort, if it pleases thee.

That we should bear the cross is thy command,
Die to the world, and live to self no more ;
Suffer, unmoved, beneath the rudest hand ;
When shipwreck'd pleased, as when upon the shore.

CHAPTER XII.

1695. *Sickness. Visited by Bossuet at the convent. Singular conversation between them. Reference to a sermon of Bossuet. Madame Guyon receives recommendations from him and from the prioress and nuns of the convent. Leaves Meaux for Paris. Excitement occasioned by her return. Conceals herself for five months. Is seized by order of the king, and imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes. State of her mind. Poems.*

IN the convent of St. Mary at Meaux, she remained six months ; not as a prisoner, but as a voluntary resident. She went there, it is true, at the suggestion and request of Bossuet ; but she was entirely voluntary in her acquiescence. It was suggested by Bossuet, that it might be desirable for her to remain there three months ; but, further than that, there was no limitation of time either made or suggested ; but she was left free to leave, whenever she pleased. From the middle of January to the last of February, she was sick. It was after her recovery that Bossuet came one day to the convent, and showed to her a Pastoral Ordinance and Letter, (the same undoubtedly which is usually prefixed to his work, entitled, *Instructions on Prayer*,*) in which he had noticed and condemned some of the prevalent religious errors, as he considered them.

2. He asked her to add her signature to the letter, accompanied by certain statements which would involve the idea

* *Instruction sur les Etats d'Oraison.*

that she had fallen into the very errors named in it. To this she very naturally objected. She said, however, that she would add at the bottom of his pastoral letter whatever she could properly place there. She accordingly wrote a few words, expressive probably of her desire and intention to know and to teach the truth only, and of her readiness to submit to the decisions of the church, and added her name. Bossuet, taking up the paper, said it was very well, with the exception that she did not say, as she ought to have done, that she was a heretic; — adding, that it was his desire and expectation, that she would acknowledge herself guilty of all the errors condemned in the Pastoral Letter.

“I am quite certain, sir,” replied Madame Guyon, “that you say this merely to try my feelings. I came into your diocese, and placed myself under your care, in order that you might the more readily and fully ascertain my character and life. Is it possible that a prelate will so abuse the good faith thus reposed in him, as to try to compel me to do things which my conscience requires me not to do? I hoped to find in you a FATHER; and I trust that I shall not be deceived.”

3. “I am a father,” said Bossuet; “but I am a *father of the church*. But, in short, it is not a question of words. It is not a thing to be talked about, but to be done. All I can say is, if you do not sign what I require, I will come with witnesses; and, after having admonished you before them, I will inform the church of you, and we will cut you off as we are directed in the gospel.”

“Then,” said Madame Guyon, “I can appeal to God alone as the witness of my sincerity. I have nothing farther to say. I am ready to suffer for him. And I hope he will grant me the favor to let me do nothing against my conscience. I say this, I hope, without departing from the respect I owe to you as a bishop.”

Bossuet, finding her resolute, then proposed, that she should admit and declare, that there were errors in the Latin work of La Combe on inward experience. This also she refused; and he turned and went away in anger.

4. The nuns of St. Mary stood by, and beheld this interview with great interest, and with some degree of astonishment. The prioress remarked to Madame Guyon, that her too great mildness emboldened the bishop to treat her in that rough manner; adding, that his mind was of such a cast, that he was apt to be violent with those who were meek and quiet, but more gentle with those who were courageous and firm of purpose.

He came afterwards in the same spirit, and with the same demands; and met with the same prompt refusal. He then, yielding either to his sense of justice, or to the necessity of the case, took a different course. He gave Madame Guyon to understand, although he was not himself altogether satisfied with her views, that he should have less to say, and should express less dissatisfaction, if her enemies would permit him to rest. In one of his letters to the prioress of the convent, he said expressly that "he had examined the writings of Madame Guyon with great care, and found in them nothing censurable, with the exception of some terms which were not wholly conformed to the strictness of theology; but that a woman was not expected to be a theologian."

At a certain time, when the nuns and the prioress were conversing with him about her, he said, "I regard her just as you do; I see nothing wrong in her conduct; but her enemies torment me, and wish me to find evil in her." He testified also to the archbishops of Paris and Sens, that he esteemed her much, and had been edified by her.

5. Madame Guyon understood well the intellectual power of Bossuet. He was the first orator in France; perhaps the first in the world at that time. She speaks of a sermon

which she heard him preach at Meaux, as one of astonishing power. It arrested her attention the more, because it was on the subject the most interesting to her, that of the higher forms of inward experience. It was on the occasion of the celebration of the mass. "He stated things in it," she says, "much more strongly than I had myself done. He said, that he was not master of himself under the view which was then spread around him of those awful mysteries; and that, under such circumstances, he was obliged to confess and announce the great truths of God, even if they should be against and should condemn himself."

The prioress of the convent was present at this time. After the sermon, she asked Bossuet, how he could persecute Madame Guyon, as he did, when it was obvious that he himself preached the same sentiments. He answered, that it was not any thing in himself which did it, but the violence of her enemies.

6. In these more propitious dispositions, after nearly six months' residence at Meaux, he gave her a paper or certificate with his name subscribed, in which, while he did not explicitly condemn her doctrines, and made indeed but slight references to them, he spoke in very favorable terms of her character and conduct. As the time of her departure from Meaux approached, the prioress and nuns of the convent, who esteemed her very much, gave her another certificate. It was in the following terms:—

"We, the prioress and nuns of the Visitation of St. Mary of Meaux, certify, that Madame Guyon, having lived in our house, by order of our Lord Bishop of Meaux, our illustrious prelate and superior, during the space of six months, far from giving us any cause of trouble or uneasiness, has afforded us much edification. We have remarked, in all her conduct and in all her words, a great regularity, simplicity, sincerity, mortification, meekness, and Christian patience; a true devotion

and esteem for whatever pertains to our most holy faith, especially the mystery of the incarnation and of the holy infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ. It would be a favor and of great satisfaction to our whole community, if the said lady would choose, as a place of retreat, to spend the rest of her days in our house. This protestation is made without any other view than that of giving testimony to the truth.

“Done this 7th of July, and signed,

“FRANCES ELIZABETH LE PICKARD, *Prioress*.

Sister MAGDALEN AIMEE GUETON.

Sister CLAUDE MARIE AMOURI.”

7. “As I had now been at Meaux,” says Madame Guyon, six months, though I had engaged to stay there only three, I asked the bishop if he desired any thing further from me. He said, he did not. I then told him, that I had now need to go to Bourbon ; and asked him if it would be agreeable to him, if I should return with the expectation of spending the remainder of my days with the good nuns of the convent of St. Mary ; adding, in relation to them, that our spirits had been cemented in the bonds of mutual love.

“He appeared to be much pleased with the suggestion, and said that the nuns had been much edified by me, and that he should always receive me with pleasure. In connection with some remarks in relation to my departure, I told him, that either my daughter, the Countess of Vaux, or some of my friends, would come for me, and take me away. On hearing this, he turned to Mother Pickard, the prioress, and said to her, that he was about leaving on a visit to Paris ; and that he was very desirous, if the ladies referred to should come, that they should be received well, and should be lodged in their house, as long as they might be willing to stay.”

On the eighth day of July, about the middle of the day, the Duchess of Mortemar, one of the most intimate friends of Madame Guyon, came to the convent, accompanied by her daughter, Madame de Morstein. They remained till the afternoon of the next day; and then returned, in company with Madame Guyon, to Paris. At what house she first took up her residence there, is not expressly said; but the circumstances of the case, and the expressions she employs, indicate that it was at the house of her daughter.

8. It was no sooner known, that she was again in Paris, than the whole city seemed to be in an uproar. Her enemies started at once into life. The king was alarmed; Madame de Maintenon, carried away by the popular current, and ceasing to retain her former favorable sentiments, was angry; and Bossuet himself, so far as he was accessible to the influences of personal interest, had reason to fear, that he had committed an error by too great lenity. Certain it is, that he took the singular course, hardly reconcilable with a high sense of honor, of writing to her, and requesting her to return the certificate, which, but just before, he had voluntarily given.

In answer to the application for this certificate, which seemed to Madame Guyon to be a matter of considerable consequence, she wrote to the prioress of the convent at Meaux, that she had placed it in the hands of some members of her family; that her friends, after the various attacks which had been made upon her character, had need of it for her vindication; and, as they had now possession of it, there was no reason to think they would be willing to part with it. From the time of her refusal to return this certificate, I think we may date a more distinct and settled aversion to her on the part of Bossuet.

9. The party against her was so violent, that it was evident she would not be able to remain at large for any length

of time. Finding it unsafe for her to remain at the house of her daughter, she hid herself for a few days at the house of one of her friends in the Fauxbourg St. Germain. Concealing her intentions as much as possible, she soon after obtained an obscure tenement in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, where she remained concealed with her maid-servant, La Gautière, about five months. "Here," she says, "I passed the day in great solitude, in reading, in praying to God, and working."

10. In the meanwhile, the police officers of Paris had orders to ascertain where she was. On the 27th of December, 1695, Monsieur des Grez, one of the members of the police, ascertained her lodgings, and arrested her. She was kept in custody three days, awaiting the decision of the question, whether she should be imprisoned in a convent, or in one of the state prisons. It was a question of so much perplexity, that it seemed necessary to consult M. de Noailles, who had recently been appointed archbishop of Paris. Accordingly, Madame de Maintenon wrote to him as follows:—"The king orders me, sir, to inform you, that Madame Guyon is arrested. What would you think it best to do with this woman, with her friends, and with her papers? The king will be here, [at Versailles,] all the morning. Write to him immediately."

The result was, so strong was the feeling against her, and so great was the fear of her influence, that she was shut up, by the order of Louis, in one of the places of confinement in the celebrated castle of Vincennes.

11. This castle, situated in the forest of Vincennes near Paris, is used both as a military fortress and as a state prison, and is hardly less celebrated than the Bastille. It is often mentioned in history. Many, in earlier and in later times, have been the agonizing sorrows and the scenes of blood it has witnessed.

The imprisonment of Madame Guyon was considered a matter of so much consequence, that the Marquis of Dangeau, who held at this time an important situation at the court of Louis Fourteenth, and who kept a chronicle or annals of the court from the year 1684 to 1720, mentions it, among the other memorable things of that period, in the following terms : —

“1696, Jan. 20th.—The king caused Madame Guyon to be arrested a few days ago, and sent to the castle of Vincennes, where she will be strictly guarded, apparently for a long time. She is accused of having maintained, both by word of mouth and by her writings, a very dangerous doctrine, and one which nearly approaches to *heresy*. She has imposed upon many persons of eminent virtue. A long search was made for her, before she could be taken. She was found in the Fauxbourg of St. Antoine in great concealment.”

12. In this her second imprisonment, Madame Guyon had the same inward supports which had sustained her at other times. Her faithful maid, La Gautière, who had adopted her principles and been baptized into her spirit, was arrested and imprisoned with her. In her subsequent imprisonment in the Bastille, they were separated from each other. In the prison of Vincennes, they occupied the same cell, which was a great consolation.

13. She was subject here, as she had previously been, to a close examination. It was conducted by Monsieur de la Reine, of whom I find nothing said, which indicates by what authority or in what capacity he acted.

In regard to Father La Combe, her former friend and fellow-sufferer, who was now imprisoned in a distant place for the sake of the gospel, she declared, on her examination, in opposition to the unfounded and unceasing insinuations of her enemies, that her long intercourse with him had never been sullied by any thing opposite to the innocence of re-

ligion. She said, that she regarded him as an eminently holy man; and frankly admitted, that, ever since the time of his imprisonment, she had kept up a correspondence with him.

In regard to her doctrines, she answered her examiner, that she might have been wrong in particular expressions; but she could not acknowledge, with her present views, that she had ever held false doctrines. She expressed a willingness to submit to any condemnation of her works, founded upon the imperfection and erroneous tendencies of her language; but would not deny any thing in them in the sense in which she understood it, and in which she meant it to be understood. In this sense she expressed herself resolute in making no retractions whatever.

Under such circumstances, there was, of course, but little prospect of any immediate release from her imprisonment.

14. In connection with these examinations, which continued a number of days, a little incident occurred, which illustrates the application of her religious principles. She narrates, that, on a certain day, probably through some failure of her usual inward recollection, she had become a little anxious, and undertook to study and frame her answers beforehand. The consequence was such as may be generally expected, when we depart from that simplicity of spirit which is "careful for nothing." She says, "I answered badly. God, who had so often caused me to answer difficult and perplexing questions with much facility and presence of mind, punished me now, even by stopping me short on easy matters with confusion. It served to show me the inutility of our arrangements on such occasions, [meaning undoubtedly such arrangements as originate in the spirit of distrust,] and the safety of trusting in God.

"Those who depend chiefly on human reason are apt to say, that it is necessary to look before us, and to make our

preparations ; and that to do otherwise, is to expect miracles, and to tempt God. Leaving others to do as they think best, I must say for myself, that I find no safety but in resigning myself entirely to God ; doing what he calls me to do in the moment of action, and leaving every thing with him in submission and humble faith. The Scriptures, as it seems to me, abound everywhere with texts enforcing such a resignation. ‘ *Commit thy way unto the Lord,*’ says the Psalmist, ‘ *trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass. And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day,*’ Ps. xxxvii. 5, 6. The Saviour, speaking of those, who are brought before kings and rulers for his name’s sake, says, ‘ *Settle it, therefore, in your hearts, not to meditate before what ye shall answer ; — for I will give you a mouth which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.*’ God does not lay a snare for us in such passages. He consults our good, when he requires us to renounce all merely human foresight and policy, and trust wholly in him.’

15. Speaking of her general state of mind in this prison, she says, “ I passed my time in great peace, content to spend the remainder of my life there, if such should be the will of God. I employed part of my time in writing religious songs. I, and my maid La Gauthière, who was with me in prison, committed them to heart, as fast as I made them. Together we sang praises to thee, O our God ! It sometimes seemed to me as if I were a little bird whom the Lord had placed in a cage, and that I had nothing to do now but to sing. The joy of my heart gave a brightness to the objects around me. The stones of my prison looked in my eyes like rubies. I esteemed them more than all the gaudy brilliancies of a vain world. My heart was full of that joy which thou givest to them who love thee in the midst of their greatest crosses.”

16. Quite a number of her poems have allusion to her imprisonment. It was natural that they should. As it was at this period that she wrote a considerable portion of the volumes in verse which have been since published, we propose to insert a number of her poems here. They illustrate the state of her mind, and throw some light upon her character and doctrines.

PRISONS DO NOT EXCLUDE GOD.

STRONG are the walls around me,
That hold me all the day;
But they who thus have bound me,
Cannot keep God away:
My very dungeon walls are dear,
Because the God I love is here.

They know, who thus oppress me,
'Tis hard to be alone;
But know not, One can bless me,
Who comes through bars and stone:
He makes my dungeon's darkness bright,
And fills my bosom with delight.

Thy love, O God! restores me
From sighs and tears to praise;
And deep my soul adores thee,
Nor thinks of time or place:
I ask no more, in good or ill,
But union with thy holy will.

'Tis that which makes my treasure,
'Tis that which brings my gain;
Converting woe to pleasure,
And reaping joy from pain.
Oh, 't is enough, whate'er befall,
To know, that God is All in All.

GOD KNOWN BY LOVING HIM.

'T is not the skill of human art,
Which gives me power my God to know ;
The sacred lessons of the heart
Come not from instruments below.

Love is my teacher. He can tell
The wonders that he learnt above :
No other master knows so well ; —
'T is Love alone can tell of LOVE.

Oh ! then, of God if thou wouldst learn,
His wisdom, goodness, glory see ;
All human arts and knowledge spurn,
Let Love alone thy teacher be.

Love is my master. When it breaks,
The morning light, with rising ray ;
To thee, O God ! my spirit wakes,
And Love instructs it all the day.

And when the gleams of day retire,
And midnight spreads its dark control,
Love's secret whispers still inspire
Their holy lessons in the soul.

THOUGHTS OF GOD IN THE NIGHT.*

O NIGHT ! propitious to my views,
Thy sable awning wide diffuse !
Conceal alike my joy and pain,
Nor draw thy curtain back again,
Though morning, by the tears she shows,
Seems to participate my woes.

* Extracted and slightly altered from a longer poem, translated by Cowper.

Ye stars ! whose faint and feeble fires
Express my languishing desires,
Whose slender beams pervade the skies
As silent as my secret sighs,
Those emanations of a soul
That darts her fires beyond the pole ; —

Your rays, that scarce assist the sight,
That pierce, but not displace the night,
That shine, indeed, but nothing show
Of all those various scenes below,
Bring no disturbance, rather prove
Incentives to a sacred love.

Thou moon ! whose never-failing course
Bespeaks a providential force,
Go, tell the tidings of my flame
To Him who calls the stars by name ;
Whose absence kills, whose presence cheers,
Who blots or brightens all my years.

While, in the blue abyss of space,
Thine orb performs its rapid race ;
Still whisper in his listening ears
The language of my sighs and tears ;
Tell him, I seek him far below,
Lost in a wilderness of woe.

Ye thought-composing, silent hours,
Diffusing peace o'er all my powers ;
Friends of the pensive ! who conceal,
In darkest shades, the flames I feel ;
To you I trust, and safely may,
The love that wastes my strength away.

How calm, amid the night, my mind !
How perfect is the peace I find !
Oh ! hush, be still, my every part,
My tongue, my pulse, my beating heart !

That love, aspiring to its cause,
May suffer not a moment's pause.

Omniscient God, whose notice deigns
To try the heart and search the reins,
Compassionate the numerous woes
I dare to thee alone disclose ;
Oh ! save me from the cruel hands
Of men who fear not thy commands !

LOVE, all subduing and divine,
Care for a creature truly thine ;
Reign in a heart disposed to own
No sovereign but thyself alone ;
Cherish a bride who cannot rove,
Nor quit thee for a meaner love.

THE ENTIRE SURRENDER.

PEACE has unveil'd her smiling face,
And woos thy soul to her embrace ; —
Enjoy'd with ease, if thou refrain
From selfish love, else sought in vain ; —
She dwells with all who truth prefer,
But seeks not them who seek not her.

Yield to the Lord, with simple heart,
All that thou hast, and all thou art ;
Renounce all strength but strength divine ;
And peace shall be for ever thine ;
Behold the path which I have trod,
My path, till I go home to God.

GLORY TO GOD ALONE.

OH LOVED ! but not enough, though dearer far
Than self and its most loved enjoyments are ;
None duly loves thee, but who, nobly free
From sensual objects, finds his ALL in thee.

Glory of God ! thou stranger here below,
Whom man nor knows, nor feels a wish to know ;
Our faith and reason are both shock'd to find
Man in the post of honor, thee behind.

My soul ! rest happy in thy low estate,
Nor hope nor wish to be esteem'd or great :
To take the impression of a Will Divine,
Be that thy glory, and those riches thine.

Confess him righteous in his just decrees,
Love what he loves, and let his pleasures please ;
DIE DAILY ; from the touch of sin recede ;
Then thou hast crown'd him, and he reigns indeed.

CHAPTER XII.

1696. *Bossuet commences writing on the subject of the inward life. Feelings with which he wrote. His book, entitled, Instructions on Prayer, approved by the Bishop of Chartres and the Archbishop of Paris. Fenelon refuses to give his approbation of it. Writes to Madame de Maintenon, giving his reasons for his refusal. Origin of the work, entitled, the Maxims of the Saints. Some remarks upon it.*

DURING a considerable part of the year 1695, the mind of Bossuet seems to have been occupied, in various ways, with the topics which were thus agitating the religious portion of the French community. The life of faith, in distinction from a life of mere works ; — a life, deriving its inspiration and its power from God, in distinction from a life self-originated and self-sustained ; — a life, carried, under the operation and power of faith, to such a degree of distinctness and vitality as to dispossess entirely the natural life, and leave the soul in the divine image ; — such were some of the important problems which were discussed with the greatest animation.

The doctrines of holy living, in the form in which they were now presented, new as they were to most persons in that age, were nevertheless not new in the history and experience of the world. Pious men of other ages had known them ; felt them ; taught them. They had their history, therefore, as well as their exegetical and theological rela-

tions. So that the historical, as well as the theological, development of them became important. To the subject in its various relations, of which he was now reminded in so many ways, Bossuet had decided to give an increased and vigorous attention. Indeed it was not his character, as if forgetful or neglectful of his immense resources, to enter upon any subject indolently and carelessly. He read much; and that, too, in writers who had hitherto attracted but little of his notice. He thought much, and conversed and observed much. And in the early part of the following year, after eight months of assiduous study, he was enabled to embody the result of his reading and reflections in his work, (one of the ablest, unquestionably, in the long catalogue of his remarkable writings,) entitled, *Instructions on the States of Prayer*.*

2. When Bossuet thought it proper to write at all, he expected to write as a *master*. Indeed, the public expectation, which was always disappointed when he failed to leave his competitors behind, did not allow him to do otherwise. Writing as a leader and master of his art, he wrote also as a master of the public mind. His decisions, when given in a manner worthy of his high character, so influenced the public sentiment, that they had almost the effect of the combined wisdom and piety of a council. If he met with opposition, he expected to overcome it; but, generally speaking, he had ceased to expect it, because he had so long ceased to experience it. But, whether opposed or not, he knew that he deserved to be listened to; and he did not expect to write or to speak to careless and indifferent ears. "What you write," says the Abbé de Rance in one of his letters, "*is decisive*." And such was the general feeling in France.

He took the precaution, however, at this time, as the re-

* *Instructions sur les Etats d'Oraison.*

sult seemed to be more doubtful than in some other cases, to sustain himself by the approval of distinguished men. Who knew but that a new Protestantism, arising out of these discussions, would spring up in the very bosom of France? How important it was, then, that the blow, which was about to be given, should be so well aimed, and inflicted with so much power, as entirely and for ever to prostrate these movements? If he had but little to fear from an intellectual conflict with Madame Guyon, he might have much to fear from heads and hearts too pure to be perverted by selfish considerations, and too strong to be trifled with, which were under her remarkable influence.

3. It was with such views and feelings, that he wrote the celebrated treatise to which we have alluded, — a large work in ten books. Of the ability of the work no one can doubt. It is profound in learning, and brilliant with eloquence. But he was offended with Madame Guyon; he knew that the king was offended also; and when he touched upon her character and writings, he was more critical and denunciatory than just.

His work, begun in 1695, was completed early in the year 1696; but was not published till the following year. It was not his intention to publish it, until it could be submitted to the examination, and be sustained by the approbation, of some of the most distinguished men in France. It was accordingly submitted, at an early period, to M. Godet des Marais, bishop of Chartres, and to M. de Noailles, who had been appointed on the death of M. de Harlai in the preceding year, Archbishop of Paris. Both were able men; and both readily gave their testimonials in favor of the work.

4. To these important testimonials Bossuet was desirous of adding that of Fenelon, who had recently been appointed Archbishop of Cambray. The high character of Fenelon,

added to the influential position he now held, had given a currency and popularity to the doctrines of Madame Guyon. It was natural, therefore, for Bossuet to consider it desirable to diminish his influence in that respect, by obtaining his signature to a work which condemned those doctrines.

Fenelon examined the manuscript with care; and although he was impressed with the ability which characterized it, as he could not fail to be, he refused to give his approbation to it. As a man of honor, and still more as a man of true Christian piety, he could not well do it.

5. If the book had merely condemned doctrines, without implicating the character of persons, it might have been otherwise. His objection was not so much to the general doctrines of the book, although he might not have been altogether satisfied in that respect, as it was in relation to the manner in which the writer spoke of the opinions and character of Madame Guyon.

Others, who were comparatively ignorant of her character, might perhaps conscientiously condemn her; but, as for himself, he felt that he had no such plea. He knew her well; he was entirely convinced of her sincerity; he had taken pains to ascertain her meaning in passages of her writings which seemed obscure and difficult. But this was not all. He remembered, with feelings of gratitude, the deep interest she had taken in his religious welfare, the prayers she had offered, the conversations she had held, the letters she had written, and the blessing which had attended these various efforts.

Was it possible for him, with a heart humbled and subdued, with a will which corresponded with what he supposed to be right and with the right only, to give his signature and approbation to a book which spoke in severely disparaging terms of one of whom he entertained the most favorable opinions, and to whom he was thus indebted?

6. He knew that his refusal to comply with the wishes of Bossuet would not only be an offence to Bossuet himself, but would expose him also to the dissatisfaction of the king, and would be likely to operate in such a manner as to blast his worldly prospects. But he did not hesitate.

The following are passages from a letter addressed to Madame de Maintenon :—

“August 2d, 1696.

“Madame,

“When the Bishop of Meaux proposed to me to approve of his book, I expressed to him, with tenderness, that I should be delighted to give such a public testimony of the conformity of my sentiments with those of a prelate whom I had ever regarded, from my youth, as my master in the science of religion. I even offered to go to Germigny to compose, in conjunction with him, my approbation. I said, at the same time, to the archbishop of Paris, to the bishop of Chartres, and to Monsieur Tronson, that I did not, in fact, see any shadow of difficulty between me and the bishop of Meaux, on the fundamental questions of doctrine; *but that, if he personally attacked Madame Guyon in his book, I could not approve of it.* This is what I declared six months ago. The bishop of Meaux gave me his book to examine. At the first opening of the leaves, I saw that it was full of *personal* refutation. I immediately informed the archbishop of Paris, the bishop of Chartres, and Monsieur Tronson, of the perplexing situation in which the bishop of Meaux had placed me.”

After adding that he could not approve of a book in which many unfavorable things are said of Madame Guyon, without doing an injury to himself as well as injustice to her, he proceeds in the same letter to give his reasons.

“I have often seen her. Every one knows that I have

been intimately acquainted with her. I may say farther, that I have esteemed her, and that I have suffered her also to be esteemed by illustrious persons, whose reputation is dear to the church, and who had confidence in me. I neither was nor could be ignorant of her writings, although I did not examine them all accurately at an early period. I knew enough of them, however, to perceive that they were liable to be misunderstood; and must confess that I was induced by some feelings of early distrust to examine her with the greatest rigor. I think I can say I have conducted this examination with greater accuracy than her enemies, or even her authorized examiners, can have done it. And the reason of my saying this is, that she was much more candid, much more unconstrained, much more ingenuous towards me, at a time when she had nothing to fear.

“I have often made her explain what she thought respecting the controverted points. I have required her, in frequent instances, to explain to me the meaning of particular terms in her writings, having relation to the subject of inward experience, which seemed to be mystical and uncertain. I clearly perceived, in every instance, that she understood them in a perfectly innocent and catholic sense. I followed her even through all the details of her practice, and of the counsels which she gave to the most ignorant and least cautious persons; but I could never discover the least trace of those wrong and injurious maxims which are attributed to her. Could I then, conscientiously, impute them to her by my approbation of the work of the bishop of Meaux, and thus strike the final blow at her reputation, after having so clearly and so accurately ascertained her innocence?

“Let others, who are acquainted with her *writings* only, explain the meaning of those writings with rigor, and censure them. I leave them to do it if they please. But, as for myself, I think I am bound in justice to judge of the

meaning of her writings from her real opinions, with which I am thoroughly acquainted ; and not of her opinions by the harsh interpretations which are given to her expressions, and which she never intended."

Such are some of the terms which are found in this letter. They are sufficiently explicit. They indicate the course which Fenelon thought it necessary to pursue ; a course which was not likely to be changed, after it had been once adopted on full examination. He knew well that the letter would be laid before the king, and that it would be likely to offend him. But it was impossible for him, with those high natural and moral traits he possessed, to do otherwise than he did.

7. The work of Bossuet, although it was not yet published, was everywhere spoken of. It was generally understood also, that it did not meet with the approbation of Fenelon. Bossuet and Fenelon were, therefore, at variance ; two men who embodied more of public thought and of public attachment than any other two men in France. And, singular as it may seem, the object of controversy between them was a poor captive woman, who was at this very time shut up in the fortress of Vincennes, and who was employed in making religious songs, which she sung in concert with her pious maid-servant. Bossuet looked upon her as a heretic. Fenelon was regarded, not without some reason, as her avowed defender.

8. It was not possible for a man of Fenelon's reputation and standing, towards whom so many eyes were now turned, to remain silent. The marked circumstances of the times, and of his own peculiar position, rendered it necessary for him to speak. It was under these circumstances, enlightened by his own experience as well as by history, that he gave to the world his work, entitled, *The Maxims of the Saints*. It was first published in January, 1697.

In this celebrated work, it was his object to state some of the leading principles or maxims, such as are found in the most devout writers, on the subject of the higher inward experience and of holy living. It is not an entire theory or system of the inward life ; but a statement of some of the leading principles, especially such as had been most controverted. The work of Bossuet, although it embraced a multitude of topics, might be justly described as an attack upon Madame Guyon. The work of Fenelon, without naming her, was designed to be, and was in fact, her defence. It was an exposition of her views as Fenelon understood them, and as she had explained them to him in private.

9. In what follows, I propose to give the substance of these maxims. / As they are drawn in part from the mystic writers, we meet frequently with expressions which are peculiar to those writers. A literal translation, therefore, would fail to convey the precise idea to the Protestant mind, which is trained to somewhat different modes of thought and forms of expression. What we propose, therefore, is to give the *substance* of them ; that is to say, the true meaning, as it would be likely to be understood by religious Protestants, and in as few words as possible.

MAXIMS OF THE SAINTS.

[The Maxims of the Saints ; — or Maxims having relation to the experiences of the Inward Life and the doctrines of Pure Love, by Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray ; — the sentiment, or substance of them, herein being given.]

ARTICLE FIRST.

OF the love of God, there are various kinds. At least, there are various feelings which go under that name.

First, There is what may be called mercenary or selfish love ; that is to say, that love of God which originates in an exclusive and sole regard to our own happiness. Those, who love God with no other love than this, love him just as the miser loves his money, and just as the voluptuous man loves his pleasures ; attaching no value to God, except as a means to an end ; and that end is the gratification of themselves. Such love, if it can be called by that name, is unworthy of God. He does not ask it ; he will not receive it. It is a love of one's self rather than of God. In the language of St. Francis de Sales, "it is sacrilegious and impious."

Second, There is another kind of love, which does not exclude a regard to our own happiness as a motive of love, but which at the same time requires this motive to be subordinate to a much higher one, namely, *that of a regard to God's glory*. It is a species of mixed state, in which we regard ourselves and regard God at the same time. This love is not necessarily selfish and wrong. On the contrary, when the two objects of it, God and ourselves, are relatively

in the right position, that is to say, when we love God as he ought to be loved, and love ourselves no more than we ought to be loved, it is a love which, in being properly subordinated, is unselfish and is right.

Such love is approved by the Council of Trent; which declares that mixed love, involving on the one hand a regard for our own happiness, and on the other a regard for God's glory, as the leading and principal element, is not a sin, but on the contrary is right and desirable.

ARTICLE SECOND.

Of those persons who are subjects of the mixed love described in the latter part of the last article, all are not equally advanced. There are some whose desire or love for their own happiness is out of proportion to what is or should be their love to God. They love themselves; that is to say, they seek their own happiness, which is right; but the love of themselves is not kept in proper subordination to the love of God. And this want of subordination varies, being in some persons greater and in others less. So that there are different degrees of advancement.

II. MIXED LOVE, which includes as the objects of our regard both God and ourselves, becomes PURE LOVE, when the love of self is relatively, though not absolutely, lost in a regard to the will of God. This is always the case, when the two objects are loved in their due proportion. So that pure love is mixed love *when it is combined rightly*.

III. Pure love is not inconsistent with mixed love, but is mixed love carried to its true result. When this result is attained, the motive of God's glory so expands itself, and so fills the mind, that the other motive, that of our own happiness, becomes so small, and so recedes from our inward notice, as to be *practically* annihilated. It is then that God becomes what he ever ought to be, — the centre of the soul, to

which all its affections tend; the great moral sun of the soul, from which all its light and all its warmth proceed. It is then that a man thinks no more of himself. He has become the man of a "*single eye*." His own happiness, and all that regards himself, is entirely lost sight of, in his simple and fixed look to God's will and God's glory.

IV. So that we may make three distinctions or degrees of love. The first is mercenary love, in which we propose to love God simply and exclusively as a means or instrument to our own happiness. Such love, considered in a religious respect, has no value. It is illusive, injurious, and destructive.

The second is mixed love, in which we love God without ceasing to have a regard to ourselves. Our motives of action have not reached the true "*simplicity*," — have not become *one*. When we would do good, "*evil is present with us*." Holy and selfish motives are mingled together in various degrees.

The third is pure love, in which the motive of our own happiness, without being absolutely lost, is merged in that of love to God. We lay ourselves at his feet. Self is known no more; not because it is wrong to regard and to desire our own good, but because the object of desire is withdrawn from our notice. When the sun shines, the stars disappear. When God is in the soul, who can think of himself? So that we love God, and God alone; and all other things *in* and *for* God.

ARTICLE THIRD.

In the early periods of religious experience, motives, which have a regard to our personal happiness, are more prominent and effective than at later periods; *nor are they to be condemned*. It is proper, in addressing even religious men, to appeal to the fear of death, to the impending judgments of God, to the terrors of hell and the joys of heaven.

Such appeals are recognized in the Holy Scriptures, and are in accordance with the views and feelings of good men in all ages of the world. The motives involved in them are powerful aids to beginners in religion; assisting, as they do, very much in repressing the passions, and in strengthening the practical virtues.

We should not think lightly, therefore, of the grace of God, as manifested in that inferior form of religion which stops short of the more glorious and perfected form of pure love. We are to follow God's grace, and not to go before it. To the higher state of PURE LOVE we are to advance, step by step; watching carefully God's inward and outward providence; and receiving increased grace by improving the grace we have, till the dawning light becomes the perfect day.

ARTICLE FOURTH.

He, who is in the state of pure or perfect love, has all the moral and Christian virtues in himself. Such love necessarily includes the whole. If temperance, forbearance, chastity, truth, kindness, forgiveness, justice, may be regarded as virtues, there can be no doubt, that they are all included in holy love. That is to say, the principle of love will not fail to develop itself, on the appropriate occasions, in each of these forms. Such is obviously the doctrine of St. Augustine, who remarks, that love is the foundation, source, or principle of all the virtues; and that different names are frequently given to it, in connection with the different occasions which call it forth. This view is sustained also by St. Francis de Sales and by Thomas Aquinas.

The state of pure love does not exclude the mental state, which is called *Christian hope*. Hope in the Christian, when we analyze it into its elements, may be described as the desire of being united with God in heaven, accompanied with the expectation or belief of being so. It is true this belief

is so strong, that this state of mind, being free from anxiety, does not arrest so much of our notice, and occupy so much of our attention, as it otherwise would. But still it exists.

ARTICLE FIFTH.

Souls that, by being perfected in love, are truly the subjects of the grace of sanctification, do not cease, nevertheless, to grow in grace. It may not be easy to specify and describe the degrees of sanctification to any great extent; but there seem to be at least two modifications of experience, after persons have reached this state.

(1.) The first may be described as the state of *holy resignation*. Such a soul thinks more frequently than it will, at a subsequent period, of its own happiness. Desires, not selfish, but still having relation to its own good, from time to time arise. They are not unholy desires, because they are entirely submitted to God, and do not exist at variance with his will.

(2.) The second state, which is experienced after the soul hath made further progress, is that of *holy indifference*. Such a soul not only desires and wills in submission, but absolutely ceases either to desire or to will, except in coöperation with the divine leading. Its desires for itself, as it has greater light, are more completely and permanently merged in the one higher and more absorbing desire of God's glory, and the fulfilment of his will. It desires and wills, therefore, only what God desires and wills. In this state of experience, ceasing to do what we shall be likely to do, and what we may very properly do in a lower state, we no longer desire our own salvation merely as an eternal deliverance, or merely as involving the greatest amount of personal happiness; but we desire it chiefly as the fulfilment of God's pleasure, and as resulting in his glory, and because he himself desires and wills that we should thus desire and will.

(3.) Holy indifference is not inactivity. It is the furthest possible from it. It is indifference to any thing and every thing out of God's will; but it is the highest life and activity to any thing and every thing in that will.

ARTICLE SIXTH.

One of the clearest and best established maxims or principles of holiness is, that the holy soul, when arrived at the second state mentioned in the last article, ceases to have desires for any thing out of the will of God. Its desires are not only submissive to the divine desires and purposes, but, what is evidence of a still higher state of grace, are *identical with them*. This state is sometimes described, conveniently perhaps, but not very correctly, as a state of *non-desire*. And it even seems to be an opinion with some persons, that the state of mind under consideration absolutely excludes all desire whatever; so much so, that one who is the subject of it cannot make any specific request whatever, for any good either spiritual or temporal, either for himself or others.

It is hardly necessary to say, that this is a perversion, and a very great perversion, of what is really and truly meant. What is meant, when spiritual writers speak of the state of NON-DESIRE, is, that the holy soul is indifferent to, and does not desire, any thing which God does not desire. But within that limit it may and does desire every thing which God in his providence brings before it. Thus the Psalmist says, "All my desires are set before thine eyes."

The holy soul, when it is really in that state which is called in some writers the state of NON-DESIRE, may, nevertheless, desire every thing in relation to the correction of its imperfections and weaknesses, its perseverance in its religious state, and its ultimate salvation, which it has reason to know from the Scriptures, or in any other way that God desires. It may also desire all temporal good, houses and

lands, food and clothing, friends and books, and exemption from physical suffering, and any thing else, so far and only so far, as it has reason to think that such desire is coincident with the divine desire. The holy soul not only desires particular things, which are sanctioned by the known will of God; but also desires the fulfilment of his will in all respects, unknown as well as known. Being in faith, it commits itself to God in darkness as well as in light. Its NON-DESIRE is simply its not desiring any thing out of God.

ARTICLE SEVENTH.

In that portion of the history of the church which relates to inward experience, we not unfrequently find accounts of individuals whose inward life may properly be characterized as *extraordinary*. They represent themselves as having extraordinary communications; — dreams, visions, revelations. Without stopping to inquire, whether these inward results arise from an excited and disordered state of the physical system or from God, the important remark to be made here is, that these things, to whatever extent they may exist, *do not constitute holiness*.

The principle, which is the life of common Christians in their common mixed state, is the principle which originates and sustains the life of those who are truly "*the pure in heart*," namely, the principle of *faith working by love*, — existing, however, in the case of those last mentioned, in a greatly increased degree. This is obviously the doctrine of John of the Cross, who teaches us, that we must walk in the *night of faith*; that is to say, with night around us, which exists in consequence of our entire ignorance of what is before us, and with faith alone, faith in God, in his Word, and in his Providences, for the soul's guide.

Again, the persons who have, or are supposed to have, the visions and other remarkable states to which we have re-

ferred, and which are never to be confounded with the state of holy love, are sometimes disposed to make their own experience, imperfect as it obviously is, the guide of their life, considered as separate from and as above the written law. Great care should be taken against such an error as this. God's Word is our true rule.

Nevertheless, it is an important principle in the doctrines of holiness, that there is no interpreter of the Divine Word like that of a holy heart; or, what is the same thing, of the Holy Ghost dwelling in the heart. If we give ourselves wholly to God, the Comforter will certainly come, and take up his abode with us, and will guide us into all that truth which will be necessary for us. Truly holy souls, therefore, continually looking to God for a proper understanding of his Word, may confidently trust, that he will guide them aright. A holy soul, in the exercise of its legitimate powers of interpretation, may deduce important views from the Word of God, which would not otherwise be known; but it cannot add any thing to it. When the truth is thus made known, it is the business of the soul to coöperate with God with all its affections and all its strength of will, in the fulfilment of whatever he requires.

Again, God is the regulator of the affections, as well as of the outward actions. Sometimes the state which he inspires within us is that of holy love; — sometimes, acting in accordance with the appropriate circumstances, he inspires affections which have love and faith for their basis, but which have a specific character, and which then appear under other names or denominations, such as humility, forgiveness, gratitude. But in all cases, both of outward acts and of inward affections, and in whatever form those affections appear, whether general or specific, there is nothing holy, except what is based upon the antecedent or “prevenient” grace of God. In all the universe, there is but

one *legitimate Originator*. Man's business is that of *concurrency*. And this view is applicable to all the stages of Christian experience, from the lowest to the highest.

To speak thus is to speak in accordance with the views of eminent and recognized writers on inward experience.

ARTICLE EIGHTH.

Writers on the higher forms of inward experience often speak of *abandonment*. The term has a meaning which is somewhat specific. The soul in this state does not renounce every thing, and thus become brutish in its indifference; but renounces every thing, *except God's will*.

Souls who are in the state of abandonment [a state which is essentially the same with that which Protestant writers variously express by the terms *self-renunciation* and *inward crucifixion*] not only forsake outward things, but, what is still more important, *forsake themselves*.

Abandonment or self-renunciation is not the renunciation of faith or of love or of any thing else, except *selfishness*. He who abandons himself, by abandoning that in himself which ought not to be in himself, exists in God. He has gone through that trying and often terrible process, which smites and destroys the life of nature, and which is necessarily followed by a better, purer, and higher life.

The state of abandonment, or entire self-renunciation, is generally attended, and perhaps we may say, is generally carried out and perfected, by temptations more or less severe. We cannot well know, whether we have renounced ourselves, except by being tried on those very points to which our self-renunciation, either real or supposed, relates. One of the severest inward trials which we are called to experience is that by which we are taken off from all inward sensible supports, and are made to live and walk by faith alone. Pious and holy men who have been the sub-

jects of inward crucifixion, often refer to the trials which have been experienced by them. They sometimes speak of them as a sort of inward and terrible purgatory. "Only mad and wicked men," says Cardinal Bona, "will deny the existence of these remarkable experiences, attested as they are by men of the most venerable virtue, who speak only of what they have known in themselves."

The trials, which complete and which attest our abandonment to God, are not always of the same duration. The more cheerfully and faithfully we give ourselves to God, to be smitten in any and all of our idols, whenever and wherever he chooses, the shorter will be the work. God makes us to suffer no longer than he sees to be necessary for us.

The trials which purify the soul in the higher stages of its progress are different in some degree, as would naturally be expected, from those which are incident to the life of beginners. They are more inward: they relate to things, which, in our earlier experience, would hardly have attracted notice. They subject even our virtues to the test, and place our purity itself in the crucible.

One of the principles in the doctrines of holy living is, that we should not be premature in drawing the conclusion, that the process of inward crucifixion is complete, and that our abandonment to God is without any reservation whatever. The act of consecration, which is a sort of incipient step, may be sincere; but the reality of the consecration in the full extent to which we suppose it to exist, and which may properly be described as abandonment or entire self-renunciation, can be known only when God has applied the appropriate tests. The trial will show whether we are wholly the Lord's. Those who prematurely draw the conclusion, that they are so, expose themselves to great illusion and injury.

ARTICLE NINTH.

What does the state of abandonment or of entire self-renunciation take away from us, and what does it leave?

It does not take from the soul that moral power which is essential to its moral agency; — a power without which the soul could not fulfil that divine will to which it has given itself. It does not take away that antecedent or prevenient grace, without which even abandonment itself would be a state of moral death. It does not take away the principle of faith, which prevenient grace originated, and through which it now operates. It does not take away the desire and hope of final salvation, although it takes away all uneasiness and unbelief connected with such a desire. It does not take away the fountains of love which spring up deeply and freshly within it. It does not take away the hatred of sin. It does not take away the testimony of a good conscience.

But there are some things which the state of self-renunciation does take away. It takes away that uneasy hankering of the soul, which characterized its previous state, after pleasure either inward or outward. It takes away the selfish vivacity and eagerness of nature, which is too impatient to wait calmly and submissively for God's time of action. By fixing the mind wholly upon God, it takes away the disposition, and to some extent the ability, of the soul to occupy itself with *reflect acts*; that is to say, acts that are employed with the undue examination and analysis of its own feelings. In other words, the soul, in the possession of God as the object of its thoughts, loses the thought of itself. It does not take away the pain and sorrow which are naturally incident to our physical state, and to our natural sensibilities; but it takes away all uneasiness, all murmuring; — leaving soul in its inner nature, and in every part of its nature where the power of faith reaches, calm and peaceable as the God that dwells there.

ARTICLE TENTH.

God has promised life and happiness to his people. What he has promised can never fail to take place. Nevertheless, it is the disposition of those who love God with a perfect heart, to leave themselves entirely in his hands, irrespective, in some degree, of the promise. By the aid of the promise, without which they must have remained in their original weakness, they rise, as it were, above the promise; and rest in that essential and eternal will, in which the promise originated.

So much is this the case, that some individuals, across whose path God had spread the darkness of his providences, and who seemed to themselves for a time to be thrown out of his favor and to be hopelessly lost, have acquiesced with submission in the terrible destiny which was thus presented before them. Such was the state of mind of Francis de Sales, as he prostrated himself in the church of St. Stephen des Grez. The language of such persons, *uttered without complaint*, is, “*My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*” They claim God as *their* God, and will not abandon their love to him, although they believe, at the time, that they are forsaken of him. They choose to leave themselves, under all possible circumstances, entirely in the hands of God: their language is, even if it should be his pleasure to separate them for ever from the enjoyments of his presence, “*Not my will, but thine be done.*”

It is perhaps difficult to perceive, how minds whose life, as it were, is the principle of *faith*, can be in this situation. Take the case of the Saviour. It is certainly difficult to conceive how the Saviour, whose faith never failed, could yet believe himself forsaken; and yet it was so.

We know that it is impossible for God to forsake those who put their trust in him. He can just as soon forsake his own word; and, what is more, he can just as soon forsake

his own nature. Holy souls, nevertheless, may sometimes, in a way and under circumstances which we may not fully understand, believe themselves to be forsaken, and that too beyond all possibility of hope; and yet such is their faith in God and their love to him, that the will of God, even under such circumstances, is dearer to them than any thing and every thing else.

ARTICLE ELEVENTH.

One great point of difference between the First Covenant, or the covenant of works, which said to men, “*Do this and live,*” and the Second Covenant, or the covenant of grace, which says, “*Believe and live,*” is this:—The first covenant did not lead men to any thing that was perfect. It is true, that it showed men what was right and good; but, in its application to them in their fallen state, it failed in giving them the power to fulfil what the covenant required. Men, under the first covenant, not only understood what was right and good, but they had a clear perception of the opposite of the right, and knew what was *evil*; but, in their love and practice of depravity, they had sunk so low that they no longer had power of themselves to flee from it.

The new or Christian covenant is the law of *grace*; which not only coincides with the old covenant in prescribing and commanding, but gives also the *power to fulfil*. To every one under the new dispensation, the covenant founded in the blood of the cross, God gives *grace*; that is to say, he acts graciously or mercifully in giving them, darkened and depraved as they are, that knowledge and strength which are requisite in doing his will.

In the practical dispensations of divine grace, there are a number of principles which it may be important to remember.

(1.) God being LOVE, it is a part of his nature to desire to *communicate himself* to all moral beings, and to make himself one with them in a perfect harmony of relations and feelings.

The position of God is that of giver ; the position of man is that of recipient. Harmonized with man by the blood and power of the Cross, he has once more become the *infinite fulness*, the original and overflowing fountain, giving and ever ready to give.

(2.) Such are the relations between God and man, involved in the fact of man's moral agency, that man's business is to *receive* ; in other words, which are perhaps better, because they imply not only reception, but power and activity in reception, it is his business to coöperate with what God gives.

(3.) Souls that are true to the grace that is given them, will never suffer any diminution of it. On the contrary, the great and unchangeable condition of continuance and of growth in grace is *coöperation with what we now have*. This is the law of growth. It is a law, not only deducible from the divine nature, but is expressly revealed and declared in the Scriptures : — "*For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance ; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.*" Matt. xiii. 12.

I repeat, therefore, that a faithful coöperation with grace, as it is given at the present moment, is the most effectual preparation for attracting and receiving and increasing the grace of the next moment. This is the great secret of advancement to those high degrees which are permitted ; namely, a strict, unwavering, faithful coöperation, *moment by moment*.

(4.) It is important correctly to understand the doctrine of coöperation. A disposition to coöperate, in the true sense of the terms, is not more opposed to the sinful indolence which falls behind, than to the hasty and unrighteous zeal which runs before. God is our guide. Let the reader suppose himself to be in an unknown country, crossed by numer-

ous roads, and tangled and perplexed by intricate forests, requiring him, as the only method of success in his journey, to employ some person to point out the way. But in his self-confidence he continually runs before his guide; and, relying upon his own conjectures, enters sometimes upon one path and sometimes upon another. What want of respect and confidence does he not show to his guide! And to what perplexities and troubles does he not expose himself! It is thus when, in the *excess* of zeal, which has a good appearance, but which in reality has unbelief and self at the bottom, we run before God.

(5.) True coöperation, therefore, is deliberate and peaceful; always having a watchful regard to the divine providences. Coöperation, by being calm and peaceable, does not cease to be efficacious. Souls that are in this purified but tranquil state are souls of power; watchful and triumphant against self; resisting temptation in its various forms; fighting even to blood against sin. But it is, nevertheless, a combat which is free from the turbulence and inconsistencies of human passion; because they contend in the presence of God, who is their strength, in the spirit of the highest faith and love, and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, who is always tranquil in his operations.

ARTICLE TWELFTH.

Those in the highest state of religious experience desire nothing, except that God may be glorified in them by the accomplishment of his holy will. Nor is it inconsistent with this to add, that holy souls possess that natural love which exists in the form of love for themselves. Their natural love, however, which, within its proper degree, is innocent love, is so absorbed in the love of God, that it ceases, for the most part, to be a distinct object of consciousness; and practically and truly they may be said to love themselves in and

FOR God. Adam, in his state of innocence, loved himself considered as the reflex image of God and for God's sake. So that we may either say, that he loved God in himself, or that he loved himself IN and FOR God. And it is because holy souls, extending their affections beyond their own limit, love their neighbor on the same principle of loving, namely, IN and FOR God, that they may be said to *love their neighbor as themselves*.

It does not follow, because the love of ourselves is lost in the love of God, that we are to take no care, and to exercise no watch over ourselves. No man will be so seriously and constantly watchful over himself as he who loves himself IN and FOR God alone. Having the image of God in himself, he has a motive, strong, we might perhaps say, as that which controls the actions of angels, to guard and protect it.

It may be thought perhaps, that this is inconsistent with the principle in the doctrines of holy living, which requires us, in the highest stages of inward experience, to avoid as much as possible those reflex acts which consist in self-inspection, because such acts have a tendency to turn the mind off from God. The apparent difficulty is reconciled in this way. The holy soul is a soul *with* God; moving as God moves; doing as God does; looking as God looks. If, therefore, God is looking within us, as we may generally learn from the intimations of his providences, then it is a sign that we are to look within ourselves. Our little eye, our small and almost imperceptible ray, must look in, in the midst of the light of his great and burning eye. It is thus that we may inspect ourselves without a separation from God.

On the same principle, and in the same way, we may be watchful and careful over our neighbors; watching them, not in our own time, but in God's time; not in the censoriousness of nature, but in the kindness and forbearance of

grace ; not as separate from God, but in concurrence with him.

ARTICLE THIRTEENTH.

The soul, in the state of pure love, acts in *simplicity*. Its inward rule of action is found in the decisions of a sanctified conscience. These decisions, based upon judgments that are free from self-interest, may not always be *absolutely* right, because our views and judgments, being limited, can extend only to things *in part* ; but they may be said to be relatively right: they conform to things so far as we are permitted to see them and understand them, and convey to the soul a moral assurance, that, when we act in accordance with them, we are doing as God would have us do. Such a conscience is enlightened by the Spirit of God ; and when we act thus, under its divine guidance, looking at what *now is* and not at what *may be*, looking at the *right* of things and not at their relations to our personal and selfish interests, we are said to act in *simplicity*. This is the true mode of action.

It is a practical principle, connected with the laws of holy living, that, when we act in the manner which has been mentioned, we should leave the principle or motive of the action with God, without distrust or anxiety, just as we leave any thing else. Look at the facts and relations of things just as they are presented ; be sure that the soul is free from any selfish bias whatever ; and then, with humble reliance on God, decide, and leave it, both the action and the motive of the action, calmly and for ever, in his eternal keeping. Trust God in this as in every thing else ; and, having thus accomplished the duty of the present moment, let the soul pass on in its simplicity, without reflex and disquieting acts, to the duties, which require all its powers, of the moment that follows.

It is thus, in this singleness of spirit, we do things, as some experimental writers express it, *without knowing what we do*. That is to say, we are so absorbed in the thing to be

done, and in the importance of doing it rightly, that we forget ourselves. It is in this manner that angels may be supposed to act. They are not occupied chiefly, and perhaps not at all, in the analysis of their own motives and feelings ; but with the *object* of those feelings, namely, God. Perfect love has nothing to spare from its object for itself. And it is the same with perfect prayer. He who prays perfectly is never thinking how well he prays. And it is in accordance with this view, that we find in the writings of Cassian a remark of St. Anthony, that “prayer is not to be regarded as perfect, when he who offers it knows that he prays ;” implying that reflex acts, or acts reflecting upon a thing done, at the time of its being done, necessarily hinder and mar the completeness or perfection of the doing.

ARTICLE FOURTEENTH.

Holy souls are without impatience, but not without trouble ; are above murmuring, but not above affliction. The souls of those who are thus wholly in Christ may be regarded in two points of view, or rather in two parts ; namely, the natural appetites, propensities, and affections, on the one hand, which may be called the inferior part ; and the judgment, the moral sense, and the will, on the other, which may be described as the superior part. As things are, in the present life, those who are wholly devoted to God may suffer in the inferior part, and may be at rest in the superior. Their wills may be in harmony with the divine will ; they may be approved in their judgments and conscience, and at the same time may suffer greatly in their physical relations, and in their natural sensibilities. In this manner, Christ upon the cross, while his will remained firm in its union with the will of his heavenly Father, suffered much through his physical system ; he felt the painful longings of thirst, the pressure of the thorns, and the agony

of the spear. He was deeply afflicted also for the friends he left behind him, and for a dying world. But in his inner and higher nature, where he felt himself sustained by the secret voice uttered in his sanctified conscience and in his unchangeable faith, he was peaceful and happy.

ARTICLE FIFTEENTH.

A suitable repression of the natural appetites is profitable and necessary. We are told, that the body should be brought into subjection. Those physical mortifications, therefore, which are instituted to this end, and which are denominated austerities, are not to be disapproved. When practised within proper limits, they tend to correct evil habits, to preserve us against temptation, and to give self-control.

The practice of austerities, with the views and on the principles indicated, should be accompanied with the spirit of recollection, of love, and prayer. Christ himself, whose retirement to solitary places, whose prayers and fastings are not to be forgotten, has given us the pattern which it is proper for us to follow. We must sometimes use force against our stubborn nature. "Since the days of John, the kingdom of heaven *suffereth violence* ; and the violent take it by force."

ARTICLE SIXTEENTH.

The simple desire of our own happiness, when kept in due subordination, is innocent. This desire is natural to us ; and is properly denominated the principle of SELF-LOVE. When the principle of self-love passes in its action its appropriate limit, it becomes selfishness. Self-love is innocent ; selfishness is wrong. Selfishness was the sin of the first angel, "who rested in himself," as St. Augustine expresses it, instead of referring himself to God.

We repeat, that we may desire and love our own happiness in proper subordination to the will of God, and be inno-

cent in it. In many Christians, a prominent principle of action is the desire of happiness.

They love God and they love heaven; they love holiness, and they love the pleasures of holiness; they love to do good, and they love the rewards of doing good. This is well; but there is something better. Such Christians, as it seems to me, are inferior, in their degree of advancement, to those who, having learned that the finite and infinite are incommensurable and cannot be subjected to the degrees of comparison, and forgetting the nothingness of the creature in the infinitude of the Creator, love God for his own glory alone.

Souls in this higher state may not only be said to be free from selfishness, but in a certain sense to be free from self. That is to say, they forget themselves that they may think only of God; they forget their own will that they may think only of God's will. "Their life is hid with Christ in God."

ARTICLE SEVENTEENTH.

There is no period of the Christian life which is exempt from temptation. The temptations, which are incident to the earlier stages of Christian experience, are in some respects different, as would naturally be supposed, from those which are incident to a later period; and I think we may properly add, are to be resisted in a somewhat different manner. Experienced religious teachers will know what directions it is proper to give in different cases.

Sometimes the temptations, which are incident to what may perhaps be called the transition state from mixed love to pure love, are somewhat peculiar; being adapted to test the question to our own satisfaction, whether we love God for himself alone. We should naturally suppose, that inward trials, existing under such circumstances, would be severe. Sometimes persons judge of the state of their religious advancement by the nature of the temptations to which they are subject.

But this method of judging, which is liable to lead into error, requires great caution.

In the lower or mixed state of the Christian life the methods of resisting temptations are various. Sometimes the subject of these trials boldly faces them, if we may so express it, and endeavors to overcome them by a direct resistance. Sometimes he turns and flees. But in the state of pure love, when the soul has become strong in the divine contemplation, it is the common rule laid down by religious writers, that the soul should keep itself fixed upon God in the exercise of its holy love as at other times, as the most effectual way of resisting the temptation, which would naturally expand its efforts in vain upon a soul in that state.

ARTICLE EIGHTEENTH.

The will of God is the ultimate and only rule of action. God manifests his will in various ways. The will of God may in some cases be ascertained by the operations of the human mind, especially when they are under a religious or gracious guidance. But he reveals his will chiefly in his written word. And nothing can be declared to be the will of God, which is at variance with his written or revealed will. His revealed will may also be called his *positive* will; a will which commands and requires.

In addition to this, there is what may be called his *permissive* will; a will which suffers sin without approving it. The same will which permits it, condemns it. It does not permit it by a positive declaration to that effect; but only by giving way, as it were, to the commission of it, and not hindering it. This permissive will is never our rule of action. It would be an act of impiety to will our sin, under the pretence that God wills it *permissively*.

If we sin, it is true that God permits it; that is to say, he does not interpose against it a positive act of hindrance;

but it is also true, that he disapproves and condemns it as contrary to his immutable holiness.

It is the business of the sinner to repent. The state of penitence has temptations peculiar to itself. The subject of it is sometimes tempted to murmuring and rebellious feelings, as if he had been unjustly left of God. When penitence is true, and when, existing in the highest state, it is free from the variations of human passion, it is calm, peaceable, submissive.

ARTICLE NINETEENTH.

Among other distinctions of prayer, we may make that of vocal and silent, the prayer of the *lips* and the prayer of the *affections*. Vocal prayer, without the prayer of the heart attending it, is a superstitious and wholly unprofitable worship. It is better to recite but a few words with inward recollection and love, than long prayers without them. To pray without recollection in God and without love, is to pray as the heathen did, who thought to be heard for the multitude of their words.

Nevertheless, vocal prayer, when attended by right affections, ought to be both recognized and encouraged, as being calculated to strengthen the thoughts and feelings it expresses and to awaken new ones, and also for the reason that it was taught by the Son of God to his apostles, and that it has been practised by the whole church in all ages. To make light of this sacrifice of praise, this fruit of the lips, would be an impiety.

Silent prayer, in its common form, is also profitable. Each has its peculiar advantages, as each has its place, which will be indicated by the feelings and situation of the person who prays.

There is also a modification of prayer, which may be termed the *prayer of silence*. This is a prayer too deep for words. The common form of silent prayer is voluntary. In

the prayer of contemplative silence, the lips seem to be closed almost against the will. We have God at such times. What else *can* we have? What else can we ask for? Persons who are the subjects of unselfish or pure love, are much in this state. But it is a state which is not at all inconsistent with specific and vocal prayer on its appropriate occasions. Those who are entirely united to God, pray just as God would have them to pray; and of course the form of their prayer will vary with the intimations and calls of his providence.

ARTICLE TWENTIETH.

The principles of holy living extend, in their application, not only to the affections and the ordinary outward actions, but to every thing. For instance, in the matter of *reading*, he who has given himself wholly to God, can read only what God permits him to read. He cannot read books, however they may be characterized by wit or power, merely to indulge an idle curiosity, or in any other way to please himself alone. If we look to God for direction in the spirit of humility, we may reasonably hope to be guided aright in this thing as in others. As a subordinate means of such guidance, it is proper for us, not only to exercise our own judgments with care, but to consult the opinions of religious friends and teachers.

In the reading of religious books, I think this may be a suitable direction, namely, to read but little at a time, and to interrupt the reading by intervals of religious recollection, in order that we may let the Holy Spirit more deeply imprint in us the Christian truths to which we are attending. When the state of recollection turns our minds from the truths of the book to the object of those truths, so much so that our desires are no longer upon the book, we may let it fall from our hands without scruple.

God, in the person of the Holy Ghost, becomes to the

fully renovated mind the great inward Teacher. This is a great truth. At the same time we are not to suppose that the presence of the inward teacher exempts us from the necessity of the outward lesson. The Holy Ghost, operating through the medium of a purified judgment, teaches us by the means of books, especially by the word of God, which is never to be laid aside.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIRST

One of the characteristics of the lower states of religious experience is, that they are sustained, in a considerable degree, by meditative and reflective acts. As in these states faith is comparatively weak and temptations are strong, it becomes necessary for those who are not advanced beyond them, to strengthen themselves by such meditative and reflective acts, by the consideration of various truths applicable to their situation, and of the motives drawn from such truths, aided more or less by the influence of other truths and other motives. Accordingly, souls, in these inferior states, array before themselves all the various motives drawn from the consideration of misery on the one hand, and of happiness on the other; all the motives of fear and hope.

It is different with those who have given themselves wholly to God in the exercise of pure or perfect love. The soul that is in this state of holy love, does not find it necessary to delay and to meditate, and to reflect, in order to discover motives of action. It finds its motive of action a motive simple, uniform, peaceable, and still powerful beyond any other power, in its own principle of life, namely, its overflowing and pure love.

St. Anthony calls this state of the soul the "perfect prayer;" a state which is so little taken up with itself and so much occupied with the object of it, that it seems to be hardly conscious of its own existence. It does not stop to

think and reason ; nothing can be more simple than its movement ; the whole amount of its exercises towards God may be described in two words, *looking* and *loving*. It looks, and it loves ; and its love is the principle of its life. To meditate and to reason, in order to strengthen such love, would only tend to perplex and to diminish it. In the language of St. Francis de Sales, "Pure love stands alone ; not supported by the reward it might claim, or by the pleasure which may attend it, but having its life in itself."

In order to prevent misapprehension, it ought to be added here, that meditation, inquiry, and reasoning, are not meant to be condemned. They are exceedingly necessary to the great body of Christians ; and are absolutely indispensable to those, who are in the *beginnings* of the Christian life. To take away these helps would be to take away the child from the maternal breast before it can digest solid food. Still they are only the *props* of the true life, and not the life itself.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SECOND.

The holy soul delights in acts of contemplation ; to think of God and of God only. But the contemplative state, existing without any interruption, is hardly consistent with the condition of things in the present life. It may be permitted to exist, however, and ought not to be resisted in its approach, when the attraction towards God is so strong, that we find ourselves incapable of profitably employing our minds in meditative and discursive acts. Indeed, so much time as God in his providence, who takes into view our situation and duties, will allow to be spent in this way, cannot fail to be highly profitable as well as happy.

This is the doctrine of many experimental and theological writers ;—of St. Clement of Alexandria, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustine, Pope St. Gregory, St. Thomas, Bernard, Cassian, and others.

ARTICLE TWENTY-THIRD.

Of the two states, the meditative and discursive on the one hand, which reflects, compares, and reasons, and supports itself by aids and methods of that nature, and the contemplative on the other, which rests in God without such aids, the contemplative is the highest. It is a state which is not only to be permitted, but is to be desired and sought after; and nothing short of those seasons of intimate and peaceful communion, which are involved in it, will satisfy the souls that are called to it. Still it is not inconsistent with the meditative state, on the appropriate occasions of the latter. God will teach the times of both. John of the Cross, in his work entitled the *Flame of Love*, coincides with this view. As also does Father Balthazar Alvarez, who says that one ought to take the oar of meditation when the wind of contemplation does not strike into the sails. Neither state is, or ought to be, entirely exclusive of the other.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FOURTH.

It is consistent with what is said in the last article, when we add, that in some cases God gives such eminent grace, that the contemplative prayer, which is essentially the same with the prayer of silence, becomes the habitual state. We do not mean, that the mind is always in this state; but that, whenever the season of recollection and of prayer returns, whether more or less frequently, it habitually, by the strong instinct of its abundant love, assumes the contemplative state, in distinction from the meditative and discursive. Having God, it has every thing, and it rests there. And it does so because God chooses and wills it.

It does not follow from what has been said, that this state, eminent as it is, is invariable. Souls may fall from this state by some act of infidelity in themselves; or God, for reasons known only to himself, may place them temporarily

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in a different state, and without any diminution of their holy love.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIFTH.

"Whether, therefore," says the apostle, *"ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all things to the glory of God."* 1st Cor. x. 31. And in another passage he says, *"Let all things be done with charity."* 1st Cor. xvi. 14. And again, *"By love serve one another."* Gal. v. 13. Passages which, with many others, imply two things; *first*, that every thing which is done by the Christian ought to be done from a holy principle; and, *second*, that this principle is love.

Persons who live and act in this manner, doing every thing in the spirit of holy love, may justly be regarded, I think, as fulfilling the requisition of the apostle, found in another place, *"Pray without ceasing."* Their continual life of love, which refers every thing to God and identifies every thing with his will, is essentially a life of continual prayer.

But the state of continual prayer, as we have now described it, — a state which is adapted during our conscious moments to all times and all situations, — is not to be confounded with that state of adoring contemplation to which we have referred in some of the preceding articles. Cassian correctly remarks, that the state of pure contemplation, — a state which keeps the mind exclusively fixed upon God as the sole object of its thoughts and affections, — "is never absolutely perpetual in this life." But the state of holy love, including and involving that of prayer, may be so.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SIXTH.

Our acceptance with God, when our hearts are wholly given to him, does not depend upon our being in a particular state, which may seem to be more devout or eminent than another, but simply upon our being in that state in which God in his providence requires us to be. The doctrine

of holiness, therefore, while it recognizes and requires, on its appropriate occasions, the prayer of contemplation or of contemplative silence, is not only not inconsistent with other forms of prayer, but is not at all inconsistent with the practice of the ordinary acts, duties, and virtues of life. It would be a great mistake to suppose, that a man who bears the Saviour's image, is any the less on that account a good neighbor or a good citizen; that he can think less or work less when he is called to it; or that he is not characterized by the various virtues, appropriate to our present situation, of temperance, truth, forbearance, forgiveness, kindness, chastity, justice. There is a law, involved in the very nature of holiness, which requires it to adapt itself to every variety of situation. It is the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas, that the principle of holy love, always the same in its essence, may assume, under circumstances which are not the same, specific modifications differing from each other, and may at such times bear different and specific names. St. Bernard, St. Theresa, and John of the Cross, coincide in the views of this article.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SEVENTH.

It is in accordance with the views of Dionysius the Areopagite, to say, that the holy soul, in its *contemplative* state, is occupied with the *pure* or spiritual *Divinity*. That is to say, it is occupied with God, in distinction from any *mere image of God*, such as could be addressed to the touch, the sight, or any of the senses; a doctrine which will appear the less objectionable when we call to mind a remark of St. Augustine, that the capacity of the soul is such as to enable it to have ideas independently of the direct action of the senses; and which, therefore, represent things that are not characterized by extension and form, or any other attributes that are visible and tangible. It is God represented in the intel-

lectual rather than the outward or sensuous idea, which the holy soul loves to contemplate.

And this is not all. It does not satisfy the desires of the soul in its contemplative state, to occupy itself merely with the attributes of God; with his power, wisdom, goodness, and the like; but it rather seeks and unites itself with the *God* of the attributes. The attributes of God are not God himself. The power of God is not an identical expression with the God of power; nor is the wisdom of God identical with the God of wisdom. The holy soul, in its contemplative state, loves to unite itself with God, considered as the *subject* of his attributes. It is not infinite wisdom, infinite power, or infinite goodness, considered separately from the existence of whom they can be predicated, which it loves and adores; but the *God* of infinite wisdom, power, and goodness.

It is not to be understood from this, however, that the attributes of God are not, at proper times, to be made the subject of examination and contemplation; although such an examination, deliberately prosecuted, might be inconsistent with the existence, for the time being, of that contemplative state of which we are now speaking.

[See, in connection with this article, which is given like the others in an abridged and interpreted form, the remarks of Madame Guyon at page 157.]

ARTICLE TWENTY-EIGHTH.

Christ is "the way, and the truth, and the life." The grace which sanctifies as well as that which justifies, is by him and through him. He is the true and living way; and no man can gain the victory over sin, and be brought into union with God, without Christ. And when, in some mitigated sense, we may be said to have arrived at the end of the way by being brought home to the divine fold and rein-

stated in the divine image, it would be sad indeed if we should forget the way itself, as Christ is sometimes called. At every period of our progress, however advanced it may be, our life is derived from God through him and for him. The most advanced souls are those which are most possessed with the thoughts and the presence of Christ. They often find themselves placed in the same states and dispositions in which they suppose him to have been. They often see nothing but Christ in themselves. They speak with him every hour, as the bride with her bridegroom. He becomes something so intimate in their hearts, that they look on him less as a foreign and external object, than as the internal principle of their life.

Any other view would be extremely pernicious. It would be to snatch from the faithful eternal life, which consists in knowing the only true God and Jesus Christ his Son, whom he hath sent

ARTICLE TWENTY-NINTH.

It would be wrong to suppose, that the way of holiness is a *miraculous* way. It is wonderful, but it is not miraculous. Those who are in it, walk by simple faith alone. And perhaps there is nothing more remarkable or wonderful in it, than that a result so great as that of the purification of the heart, should be produced by a principle so simple.

When persons have arrived at the state of **DIVINE UNION**, so that, in accordance with the prayer of the Saviour, they are made one with Christ in God, they no longer seem to put forth distinct inward acts, but their state appears to be characterized by a deep and divine repose. And hence it is, that some religious writers — for instance, St. Francis of Assissium in his great religious song, the Flame of Love — have made the remark, that souls in this state are no longer able to perform distinct acts. Gregory Lopez has also in-

formed us, that, after he had arrived at a certain point in his religious experience, the state of his mind, in its religious nature, became fixed and one ; so that its whole subsequent history seemed to be but one act.

The continuous act, of which these pious persons speak, is the act of faith ; faith which brings them into moral and religious union with the divine nature ; faith which, through the plenitude of divine grace, is kept firm, unbroken.

The continuous act of faith, which seems to be but one act continued perhaps through many years, is probably constituted of many successive acts ; but these successive acts, constantly following each other without the interruptions of unbelief, and possessing an uniform character in their degree of strength as well as in their nature, exhibit in this way a likeness to each other ; and thus many successive acts are assimilated into the appearance of one. They have not only the appearance of one, but the effect of one.

The appearance of absolute continuity and unity in this blessed state is increased perhaps by the entire freedom of the mind from all eager, anxious, unquiet acts. The soul is not only at unity with itself in the respects which have been mentioned, but it has also a unity of *rest*.

This state of continuous faith and of consequent repose in God is sometimes denominated the *passive* state ; an epithet which has an appropriate meaning, although it is liable to be misunderstood. The soul, at such times, is passive in this sense, that it ceases to originate acts which precede the grace of God. The decisions of her consecrated judgment, guided as they are by a higher power, are the voice of the Holy Ghost in the soul. But to the decisions and import of this voice, if she first listens passively, it is subsequently her business to yield an active and effective coöperation in the line of duty which they indicate. The more pliant and supple the soul is to the divine suggestions, the more real

and efficacious is her own action, though without any excited and troubled movement. The more a soul receives from God, the more she ought to restore to him of what she hath from him. This ebbing and flowing, if one may so express it, this communication on the part of God and the correspondent action on the part of man, constitute the order of grace on the one hand, and the action and fidelity of the creature on the other.

A single remark may be added. It is sometimes the case, that, in the state of transition from mixed love to pure love, the soul is providentially left inert, and almost incapable of doing any thing, in order to wean it from the remains of unbelief and selfishness, existing in the shape of inordinate attachment to its own activity. This is a peculiar case, different from any others which have been mentioned.

ARTICLE THIRTIETH.

It would be a mistake to suppose, that the highest state of inward experience is characterized by great excitements, by raptures and ecstasies, or by any movements of feeling which would be regarded as particularly extraordinary. We repeat, that the way of holiness is the way of simple faith.

One of the remarkable results in a soul of which faith is the sole governing principle, is, that it is entirely peaceful. Nothing disturbs it. And being thus peaceful, it reflects distinctly and clearly the image of Christ; like the placid lake, which shows, in its own clear and beautiful bosom, the exact forms of the objects around and above it. Another is, that having full faith in God and divested of all selfishness and resistance in itself, it is perfectly accessible and pliable to all the impressions of grace. "A dry and very light feather," says Cassian, "is carried away without resistance by the least breath of wind. The smallest breath carries it with great quickness in all sorts of ways; whereas if it were

wet and heavy, it would be obstructed by its own weight, and be less apt to be moved and carried about. Thus the soul, in the state of pure love, moves with infinite ease under the divine impression; but in the imperfect and mixed state, rendered heavy, if we may so express it, by its selfishness and fears, it resists and grieves the Holy Spirit.

Nothing but pure love gives this perfect docility, attended with perfect peace.

ARTICLE THIRTY-FIRST.

It does not follow, that those who possess the graces of a truly sanctified heart, are at liberty to reject the ordinary methods and rules of perception and judgment. They exercise and value wisdom, while they reject the *selfishness* of wisdom. The rules of holy living would require them every moment to make a faithful use of all the natural light of reason, as well as the higher and spiritual light of grace, to guide them in accordance with the requisitions of the written law and of natural duty.

A holy soul values and seeks wisdom, but does not seek it in an unholy and worldly spirit. Nor, when it is made wise by the spirit of wisdom, who dwells in all hearts that are wholly devoted to God, does it turn back from the giver to the gift, and rejoice in its wisdom *as its own*. Such a soul is wise in God without thinking of any wisdom in itself.

The wisdom of the truly holy soul is a wisdom which estimates things *in the present moment*. It judges of duty from the facts which *now are*; including, however, those things which have a relation to the present. It is an important remark, that the present moment necessarily possesses a *moral extension*; so that, in judging of the present moment, we are to include all those things which have a natural and near relation to the thing which is actually in hand. It is

in this manner that the holy soul lives in the present, committing the past to God, and leaving the future with that approaching hour which shall convert it into the present. "Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof." To-morrow will take care of itself; it will bring at its coming what it cannot bring before, its appropriate grace and light. When we live thus, God will not fail to give us our *daily bread*.

It is such souls as these that draw upon themselves the special protection of Providence, under whose care they live, without a far extended and unquiet forecast, like little children resting in the bosom of their mother. They are not their own keepers like those who have a high sense of their own wisdom, but permit themselves to be kept, to be instructed and moved, upon every occasion, by the actual grace of God. Conscious of their own limited views, and keeping in mind the direction of the Saviour, *Judge not that ye be not judged*, they are slow to pass judgment upon others. They are willing to receive reproof and correction; and, separate from the will of God, they have no choice or will of their own in any thing.

These are the children whom Christ permits to come near him. They combine the prudence of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove. But they do not appropriate their prudence to themselves as their own prudence, any more than they appropriate to themselves the beams of the natural sun, when they walk in its light.

These are *the poor in spirit*, whom Christ Jesus hath declared blessed; and who are as much taken off from any complacency in what others might call their merits, as all Christians ought to be from their temporal possessions. They are the "little ones," to whom God is well pleased to reveal his mysteries, while he hides them from the wise and prudent.

ARTICLE THIRTY-SECOND.

Those who are the children of God in distinction from the mere servants of God, have the *liberty of children*. These simple and childlike souls, sustained by the strong faith appropriate to children, are no longer troubled with hopes unfulfilled, and with fears of disappointment. Under the influence of perfect faith, which is the parent of perfect love, they are allowed a familiarity with God, not deficient however in reverence, like that of a child with a parent, like that of a bride with a bridegroom. They have a peace and joy, which are full of innocency. Conscious that they do not wish to minister inordinately to pleasures either inward or outward, they take with simplicity and without hesitation the refreshments both of mind and body. They do not speak of themselves, except when called to do it in providence, and in order to do good. And such is their simplicity and truth of spirit, they speak of things just as they appear to them at the moment; and when the conversation turns upon their own works or characters, they express themselves favorably or unfavorably, much as they would if they were speaking of others. If, however, they have occasion to speak of any good of which they have been the instrument, they always acknowledge, with humble joy, that it comes from God alone.

It is hardly necessary to add, that there is a liberty, which might more properly be called *license*. There are persons who maintain, that purity of heart renders pure in those who are the subjects of this purity, whatever they are prompted to do, however irregular it may be in others, and however inexcusable. This is a great error.

[Such persons forget that it does not by any means follow, because they have right dispositions to do a thing, that they have the proper authority to do it. Angels do whatever they are required and permitted to do, in perfect purity and love; but they never claim, on the ground of purity and

love, to do any thing beyond the limit of permission. Every holy being has the right disposition to do any thing ; but as no being short of God himself, can tell the entire relations and consequences of actions, the great question still returns, Have I a suitable authority, as well as a suitable disposition, to do it? The first thing is to have a right heart ; the second is to stand in our place, and to move only when and where God commands us.]

ARTICLE THIRTY-THIRD.

It is the doctrine of Augustine, as also of Thomas Aquinas after him, that the principle of holy love existing in the heart, necessarily includes in itself, or implies the existence, of all other Christian virtues. And consequently it will assume the form of distinct virtues, on the appropriate occasions of such virtues. He who loves God with all his heart, will not violate the laws of purity, because it would be a disregard of the will of God, which he loves above all things. His love, under such circumstances, becomes the virtue of *chastity*. He who loves God with all his heart, has too much love and reverence for the will of God to murmur or repine under the dispensations of his providence. His love, under such circumstances, becomes the virtue of *patience*. And thus this love becomes by turns, on their appropriate occasions, all the virtues. As their love is perfect, so the virtues which flow out of it, and are modified from it, will not be less so.

It is a maxim in the doctrines of holiness, that the holy soul is crucified to its own virtues, although it possesses them in the highest degree. The meaning of this saying is this. The holy soul is so crucified to self in all its forms, that it practises the virtues without taking complacency in its virtues *as its own*, and even without thinking how virtuous it is. St. Francis de Sales remarks, that the holy or

unselfish soul does not practise the virtues for the purpose of beholding its own beauty in them, but because they are the will of God. And again he says, with nearly the same import; in his work entitled the Love of God, that “we return into ourselves and become selfish, when we love our *love*, instead of loving the *object* of our love.” And similar sentiments are found in the writings of St. Clement.

ARTICLE THIRTY-FOURTH.

The apostle Paul speaks of Christians as *dead*. “YE ARE DEAD,” he says, “and your life is hid with Christ in God.” Coloss. iii. 3. These expressions will apply, in their full import, only to those Christians who are in the state of unselfish or pure love. Such only are dead in the full sense of the term. Their death is a death to selfishness, which pure love entirely destroys. They are dead to pride and jealousy, to self-seeking and envy, to malice, to inordinate love of their own reputation, to any thing and every thing which constitutes the fallen and vitiated life of nature. They have a new life, which is “hid with Christ in God.”

ARTICLE THIRTY-FIFTH.

Some persons of great piety, both in ancient and modern times, in describing the highest religious state, have denominated it the *state of transformation*. But this, I think, can be regarded as only a synonymous expression for the state of PURE LOVE.

In the *transformed* state of the soul, as in the state of PURE LOVE, love is its life. In this principle of love all the affections of the soul, of whatever character, have their constituting or their controlling element. There can be no love without an object of love. As the principle of love, therefore, allies the soul with another, so from that other which is

God, all its power of movement proceeds. In itself it remains without preference for any thing ; and consequently is accessible and pliant to all the touches and guidances of grace, however slight they may be. It is like a spherical body, placed upon a level and even surface, which is moved with equal ease in any direction. The soul in this state, having no preferences of itself, has but one principle of movement, namely, that which God gives it. In this state the soul can say with the apostle Paul, "*I live ; yet it is not I ; but Christ liveth in me.*"

It is not surprising, therefore, that persons who have experienced this spiritual blessedness, should use the term *transformation*, to express it. The image of God, which had been darkened and almost blotted out by sin, is restored again, and shines with a new and divine impress. St. Catharine of Genoa, in speaking of herself, says, in expressions that are strong, but which, nevertheless, have a true meaning, "I find no more of myself ; there is no other self in me but God."

This state, exalted as it is, is not absolutely fixed and invariable.

ARTICLE THIRTY-SIXTH.

Those souls which have experienced the grace of sanctification in its higher degrees, have not so much need of set times and places for worship as others. Such is the purity and the strength of their love, that it is very easy for them to unite with God in acts of inward worship, at all times and in all places. They have an interior closet. The soul is their temple, and God dwells in it.

This, however, does not exempt them from those outward methods and observances, which God has prescribed. The law of love requires them to do whatever is in accordance with God's will. And besides, they owe something to others as well as themselves ; and a disregard to the ordinances

and ministrations of the church could not fail to be injurious to those who are beginners in the religious life.

ARTICLE THIRTY-SEVENTH.

The practice of *confession* is not inconsistent with the state of pure love. The truly renovated soul can still say, *Forgive us our trespasses*. If it does not sin now, deliberately and knowingly, still its former state of sin can never be forgotten. [In the highest state of inward experience, it would not be proper for any one to assert with *absolute certainty*, that he is free from all deviation from God whatever. Our limited and imperfect knowledge does not admit of this. Still it must be admitted, I suppose, that confession is more suitable to some states of inward experience than others; and that those who are entirely devoted to God, have less to confess than some others.]

ARTICLE THIRTY-EIGHTH.

In the transformed state or state of pure love, there should be not only the confession of sins, properly so called, but also the confession of those more venial transgressions, which are termed *faults*; [such as imperfections of manner, errors of judgment, an unintentional wrong word, and the like, which involve in their results more or less of evil. All such things, it is obvious, have a connection with our fallen state; and in consequence of this connection, if there were no other reason, would render it proper to look to the cross of Christ, and to pray for forgiveness.] We should sincerely disapprove such faults in our confession; should condemn them and desire their remission; and not merely with a view to our own cleansing and deliverance, but also because God wills it, and because he would have us to do it for his glory. "The holy soul," says St. Francis de Sales, "does not wash herself from her faults merely for the sake of being pure, but

because she knows, that purity and beauty are the delight of her spouse."

Souls in the state of pure love, have only to look, believe, and be forgiven. If the faults of those in the imperfect or mixed state are blotted out in an instant by the simple reciting of the Lord's prayer, as St. Augustine assures us, we cannot well suppose, that the atoning blood will be applied less quickly to those who are in a higher state of faith and love. And having thus, in the exercise of faith, had their faults and sins blotted out, as it were, in a moment, they should leave them, and pass on. [This statement implies, what has been intimated in other places, that the highest religious state is not an invariable one; but that souls, which may well be characterized as holy, may yet fall into sin.]

ARTICLE THIRTY-NINTH.

It is sometimes the case, that persons misjudge of the holiness of individuals, by estimating it from the incidents of the outward appearance. Holiness is consistent with the existence, in the same person, of various infirmities; [such as an unprepossessing form, physical weakness, a debilitated judgment, an imperfect mode of expression, defective manners, a want of knowledge and the like.] "These," as Pope St. Gregory says, "are a counterpoise to the great inward grace which is given them; the thorns of the flesh, of which the apostle speaks."

These infirmities, which it is obvious may sometimes exist with great grace in the heart, serve to depress the holy soul in its own eyes, and to keep it humble. They serve also to throw a veil, as it were, over the greatness of the grace which God has imparted to such an one, in order, for wise purposes in God's providence, to try the faith of beholders, and also to try and strengthen the faith of the person himself.

ARTICLE FORTIETH.

The transformed or holy soul may be said to be united with God without any thing intervening or producing a separation in three particulars.

First. It is thus united *intellectually*; — that is to say, not by any idea which is based upon the senses, and which of course could give only a material image of God, but by an idea which is internal and spiritual in its origin, and which makes God known to us as a being without form.

Second. The soul is thus united to God, if we may so express it, *affectionally*. That is to say, when its affections are given to God, not indirectly through the medium of a self-interested motive, but are given to him simply because he is what he is. That is to say, the soul is united to God in love without any thing intervening, when it loves him for his own sake.

Third. The soul is thus united to God *PRACTICALLY*; — and this is the case when it does the will of God, not by simply following a prescribed form, and in accordance with forms, but from the constantly operative impulse of holy love.

ARTICLE FORTY-FIRST.

We find in some devout writers on inward experience, the phrase *SPIRITUAL NUPTIALS*. It is a favorite method with some of these writers, to represent the union of the soul with God by the figure of the *bride and the bridegroom*. Similar expressions are found in the Scriptures.

We are not to suppose that such expressions mean any thing more, in reality, than that intimate union which exists between God and the soul, when the soul is in the state of pure love. Such love always carries with it the will as well as the heart; so that it is a love which is complete. God and the soul, in the nearness of that moral union which originates in pure love, constitute but one and the same spirit;

as the bride and bridegroom in marriage are made but one.

ARTICLE FORTY-SECOND.

We find again in other devout writers other forms of expression, which it is proper to notice. The union between God and the soul is sometimes described by them as an "*essential*" union, and sometimes as a "*substantial*" union, as if there were an union of essence, substance, or being, in the literal or physical sense. This is not the meaning of these writers. They mean to express nothing more than the fact of the union of pure love, with the additional idea that the union is essential and substantial, in the sense of being firm and established; not subject to those breaks and inequalities, to that want of continuity and uniformity of love, which characterize inferior degrees of experience.

ARTICLE FORTY-THIRD.

It is the transformed or holy soul of which St. Paul may be understood especially to speak, where he says, "*As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.*" Rom. viii. 14. The holy soul is a soul that is led of the Spirit of God; because, being in the way of *pure faith*, it believes, and is therefore docile. When its faith is not simple and entire, the soul is naturally restless and rebellious; and consequently is not in a situation to be guided or led by any thing out of itself.

Those who are in the state of simple faith, which can always be said of those who are in the state of pure love, are the "*little ones*" of the Scriptures, of whom we are told that God teaches them. "I thank thee," says the Saviour, "O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." Luke x. 21. Such souls, taught as they are by the Spirit of God which dwelleth in them, possess a

knowledge which the wisdom of the world could never impart. But such knowledge never renders them otherwise than respectful to religious teachers, docile to the instructions of the church, and conformable in all things to the precepts of the Scriptures.

ARTICLE FORTY-FOURTH.

The doctrine of pure love, involving as it does the entire transformation of our nature and the state of divine union, has been known and recognized as a true doctrine among the truly contemplative and devout in all ages of the church. The doctrine, however, has been so far above the common experience, that the pastors and saints of all ages have exercised a degree of discretion and care in making it known, except to those to whom God had already given both the attraction and light to receive it. Acting on the principle of giving milk to infants and strong meat to those that were more advanced, they addressed in the great body of Christians the motives of fear and of hope, founded on the consideration of happiness or of misery. It seemed to them, that the motive of God's glory, in itself considered, a motive which requires us to love God for himself alone without a distinct regard and reference to our own happiness, could be profitably addressed, as a general rule, only to those who are somewhat advanced in inward experience.

ARTICLE FORTY-FIFTH.

Among the various forms of expression, indicative of the highest experience, we sometimes find that of "divine union," or the synonymous expression, "union with God." The expressions are proper, because they indicate such experience as existing in particular relations.

Union with God, which is not a physical but moral or religious union, necessarily exists in souls that are in the state

of pure love. In other words, the state of "divine union" is not a higher state than that of pure love; but may rather be described as the same state, developing itself in a particular way or in a particular relation.

To this state, whether we call it "transformation," or "pure love," or the "divine union," or by whatever other name, it is the duty of all Christians to make efforts to arrive. This is that blessed state, which refers all to God, and leaves nothing to the creature.

Strive after it; but do not too readily or easily believe that you have attained to it. The traveller, after many fatigues and dangers, arrives at the top of a mountain. As he looks abroad from that high eminence, and in that clear atmosphere, he sees his native city; and it seems to him to be very near. Overjoyed at the sight, and perhaps deceived by his position, he proclaims himself as already at the end of his journey. But he soon finds, that the distance was greater than he supposed. He is obliged to descend into valleys, and to climb over hills, and to surmount rugged rocks, and to wind his tired steps over many a mile of weary way, before he reaches that home and city, which he once thought so near.

It is thus in relation to the sanctification of the heart. A soul free from selfishness, true holiness of heart, is the object at which the Christian aims. He beholds it before him, as an object of transcendent beauty, and as perhaps near at hand. But, as he advances towards it, he finds the way longer and more difficult than he had imagined. But if on the one hand we should be careful not to mistake an intermediate stopping place for the end of the way, we should be equally careful on the other not to be discouraged by the difficulties we meet with; remembering that the obligation to be holy is always binding upon us, and that God will help those who put their trust in him.

“Whatsoever is born of God, *overcometh the world*; and this is the victory that overcometh the world, EVEN OUR FAITH.” 2d John v. 4.

Such is the substance, in an abridged form, of the celebrated work of Fenelon, entitled, *The Maxims of the Saints on the Inward Life*. It might have been entitled, perhaps with equal or greater precision, *Maxims or Principles on the Subject of present Sanctification*. In giving the preceding view of it, in the form rather of a paraphrase than of a literal translation, I have omitted a number of passages which were exclusively Catholic in their aspect, as being of less interest and value to the Protestant reader than other parts. Keeping in mind the character of those who will be likely to read this work, I have adopted also, in rendering particular terms and phrases, those modes of expression, corresponding in idea with the original, but not precisely in form, which are commonly employed by Protestant writers on the higher inward experience. So that the reader will find exhibited, in the foregoing abstract, the substance of the work in the Protestant aspect; — in the hope, independently of its controversial relations, that it will furnish food for reflection, and give encouragement to religious effort. It was first published in January, 1697.

CHAPTER - XIV.

1697. *Reference to the appointment of Fenelon as archbishop of Cambray. Importance attached to his opinions and influence. Opinions of some distinguished men on the Maxims of the Saints. Decided course of Bossuet. Feelings of Louis Fourteenth towards Fenelon. Characters of Bossuet and Fenelon as compared with each other. The true question in controversy between them. Notices of some of the more important publications of Bossuet. Remarks on the work entitled A History of Quietism. Correspondence with the Abbé de Rancè.*

IN the contest which was arising in other quarters, Madame Guyon, who was still a prisoner in the castle of Vincennes, was comparatively forgotten. The publication of the Maxims of the Saints, which showed how effectual her labors had been before they were terminated by her imprisonment, at once turned all thoughts and eyes to Fenelon.

The theological and controversial position of Fenelon had become the more important, and attracted the more attention, in consequence of his eminent ecclesiastical rank. Such had been his success as a missionary in Poitou, so conscientious and faithful had been his labors as preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy and of the other grandchildren of the king, that he had been appointed, a little more than a year previous to this time, archbishop of Cambray; with the understanding, so important were his services considered, that he should continue to spend at least three months of the year at Versailles, in the instruction of the young princes. It is easy to see how much the interest in his opinions and

movements must have been increased under such circumstances.

2. Fenelon had not used the name of Madame Guyon ; but his work so clearly recognized the doctrine of Pure Love, which is only another denomination, as it seems to me, for the doctrine of Perfect Love, and pointed out so fully some of its leading principles, that he was naturally regarded as her expounder and defender. The doctrines she advocated had given great offence ; and the public feeling, heightened by the instrumentality of prominent ecclesiastics, could not be satisfied with permitting her to remain at large. If the views of Madame Guyon were heretical and her personal efforts dangerous, the heresy was not diminished, and the danger was not less, under the present auspices. Was it right and manly on the part of the principal agents in these transactions, that Madame Guyon should be condemned, and that the archbishop of Cambray, who had added the authority of his great learning and influence to her opinions, should be approved ? — that one should be imprisoned, and that the other should escape without notice ? These were questions which naturally arose at the present time.

3. The position of Fenelon, which, previously to the publication of the *Maxims of the Saints*, might have been doubtful in the view of some, was no longer a matter of uncertainty. On the great question which he had the sagacity to foresee must sooner or later occupy the thoughts and feelings of the Christian world, the question of the fact and of the mode of present sanctification, he had spoken in a manner too clear to be mistaken. And those who understood his character knew that he was too conscientious either to abandon his position, or to be unfaithful in defending it, without a change in his convictions. Naturally mild and forbearing in his dispositions, he was inflexible in his principles. Incapable of being influenced by flatteries on the

one hand, or by threats on the other, he asserted only what he believed; and he felt himself morally bound to defend the ground he had taken, although he had no disposition to do it otherwise than in the spirit of humility and candor. It became necessary, therefore, on the part of his opponents, either to concede that he was right, or to show that he was wrong; either to admit that the alleged heresy was not a heresy, or to include a name so distinguished in the category of those who had deviated from the strictness of the Catholic faith.

4. Some of the leading men in France, De Noailles, Pirot a theologian of great eminence, Tronson the Superior of the seminary of St. Sulpitius, and some others, gave an early attention to the book of Fenelon, and examined it with care. The spirit of piety which pervaded it was so pleasing to some of them that they seemed unwilling to condemn it. Monsieur de Noailles in particular, recently archbishop of Paris and now a cardinal, and Godet-Maraïs, bishop of Chartres, men whose opinions could not fail to have great weight; saw so much of truth and merit in the work, that they were disposed to let it pass in silence. But it was not so with Bossuet, whose feelings seem to have become somewhat exasperated towards the new sect.

“Take your own measures,” said Bossuet in answer to these distinguished men. “I will raise my voice to the heavens against those errors so well known to you. I will complain to Rome, to the whole earth. It shall not be said that the cause of God is weakly betrayed. Though I should stand single in it, I will advocate it.”

5. The courage of Bossuet had a support which was better known to himself than to others. He knew that, in attacking the doctrines of Fenelon, he should be found a defender of the opinions of the throne. It would be unjust to the memory of so distinguished a man to intimate, that he

was not sincere in the course which he took. But I think it not inconsistent with charity to say, that he probably would have been less precipitate in his measures and less violent in his denunciations, if he had not known the opinions and the strong feelings of the king.

6. If Louis the Fourteenth had no love for Madame Guyon, he had as little, and perhaps less, for Fenelon. Their minds were differently constituted. There was no common bond of sympathy. It is true, that in obedience to public sentiment, and in accordance undoubtedly with his own convictions of duty, he had nominated Fenelon to the archbishopric of Cambray; but his want of personal interest in him was so distinctly marked as to be noticed and mentioned both by the Duke of St. Simon and the Chancellor d'Aguesseau. There was something peculiarly commanding in the personal appearance of Fenelon. His mind, possessing that moral simplicity and strength which he inculcated in his writings, left its impress of calm and dignified serenity in his countenance, and gave a character to his manners. Vice withdrew from him; and hypocrisy stood abashed in his presence. It is perhaps in allusion to this that these writers make the observation, that Fenelon, while he possessed a great superiority of genius, exhibited also an elevation of moral and personal character, *of which the king of France stood in awe*; so that, while Louis could appreciate the merits of Fenelon in general, and had raised him to one of the highest places in the French church, he had no personal attachment to him.

7. Bossuet, aroused once more to a sense of his position as the guardian of the church, and anxious to defend its orthodoxy against the alleged heresy of Christian Perfection, which was insinuating itself in the community under the name of PURE LOVE, and strong also in the favor and encouragements of the king, no longer concealed his intentions.

Fenelon, on the other hand, although he foresaw what it would cost him, was equally ready to defend a doctrine which he not only believed to be in accordance with the Scriptures, but to be sanctioned by the opinions of many authorized writers. The distinguished character of the combatants gave increased interest to the controversy. Men looked on with a sort of awe, as they beheld this conflict of the two great minds of France. "Then," says the Chancellor d'Aguesseau, "were seen to enter the lists two combatants, rather equal than alike; one of them of consummate skill, covered with the laurels he had gained in his combats for the church, an indefatigable warrior. His age and repeated victories might have dispensed him from further service; but his mind, still vigorous and superior to the weight of years, preserved, in his old age, a great portion of the fire of his early days. The other, in the strength and manhood of earlier life, was not as yet much known by his writings; but, enjoying the highest reputation for his eloquence and the loftiness of his genius, he had long been familiar with the subject that came under discussion. A perfect master of its facts and language, there was nothing in it which he did not comprehend; nothing in it which he could not explain; and every thing he explained appeared plausible."

8. Bossuet had the experience of age; Fenelon had the energy of manhood. The one was great in the reputation he enjoyed; the other, in the hopes he inspired. Bossuet had the greater powers of argument; Fenelon possessed the richer imagination. Both were masters of style, but in different ways: the one spoke and wrote with the confidence, and something of the dogmatism, of a teacher; the other, in gentler accents, seems to converse with us as a friend.

They were different in their dispositions, as well as in their intellectual structure. Bossuet was naturally a man of strong passions, which had been strengthened probably by

the controversies in which he had been engaged, and by that ascendancy over other minds, which it had become the habit to concede to him. Fenelon was naturally mild and amiable, without the weakness which often attaches to amiable dispositions;—and this interesting trait had been strengthened by the principles he had inculcated, and by his personal piety. Both were eminently eloquent in the pulpit, as well as in their writings; but the peculiarities of their eloquence partook of the peculiarities of their characters. The one was argumentative and vehement; stronger in the thunders of the law than in the invitations of the gospel; carrying the intellects and hearts of his hearers, as if by a mighty force. The other, rejecting on principle those arts of authority and of intellectual compulsion, which he felt he had the power to apply, won all hearts by the sweet accents of love.

In the long list of great names of English theology and literature, we do not recollect any individuals, who, standing alone, fully represent these distinguished men. It might aid, however, our conceptions of them to some extent, if we should add, in connection with this remark, that Bossuet can hardly fail to remind one of the expansive and philosophic mind of Burke, combined with the heavy strength and dictatorial manner of Johnson. Fenelon had a large share of the luxuriant imagination of Jeremy Taylor, chastened by the refined taste and classic ease of Addison.

I suppose we may be allowed to say, that both were Christians; but one, allied in this respect to the great majority of believers, stopped in the seventh chapter of Romans, proclaiming with great sincerity, “When I do good, *evil is present with me.*” The other, advancing a step further, believed, with the declarations of the eighth chapter of the same inspired epistle, that there “is now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, *but after the Spirit.*”

9. This was in reality the great question between them. Can a man be holy in this life or not? Can he love God with all his heart or not? Can he "walk in the Spirit;" or must he be more or less immersed in the flesh? This great question, which involves in its solution the interests and prospects of the church in all time to come, is not a new one. Fenelon very correctly said on a certain occasion, when he was charged by Bossuet with introducing a new spirituality, "It is not a *new* spirituality which I defend, but the *old*." There probably has not been any period in the history of the church, in which the doctrine of present sanctification has not been agitated; — not a period, in which, while the great mass of Christians have complained of the "body of sin" which they have carried about with them, there have not been some, (probably more than is generally supposed,) who have been deeply conscious of the constant presence and indwellings of the Holy Ghost, and of their entire union with God.

10. At one time the views and feelings of Bossuet and Fenelon on this subject approximated each other. To a considerable portion of the work of Bossuet, entitled, *Instructions on Prayer*, Fenelon would have cheerfully assented. It is well known also, that, in repeated instances, Bossuet spoke favorably of the doctrines of Madame Guyon, with the exception of a few peculiarities of expression. It is certainly an easy thing for a Catholic, who has the requisite information, to make out a strong historical argument in favor of the doctrine of present sanctification as a doctrine of his own church, known under the name, and realized in the form, of PURE LOVE. But new influences had arisen; strongly marked parties had made their appearance; new causes of distrust and alienation had presented themselves; and what at first seemed a harmless exaggeration of the

authorized doctrines of the church, at last assumed the form of an *odious heresy*.

11. It is not our intention, because it is not in our power in the limits which are prescribed to us, to give an analysis of the numerous publications which originated in this controversy. They occupy more than two quarto volumes of the writings of these distinguished men.

The advocates of Fenelon and of Madame Guyon maintained, that the doctrines found in their writings were supported by a continuous succession of testimonies from the time of the apostles down to that period. We have already seen, that Madame Guyon herself, on the occasion of her examination before the three commissioners appointed by the king, had attempted to show this, in the manuscript work which was afterwards published under the name of *Justifications*. Another able work, anonymously published at this time, appeared with this object.

In answer to these views, Bossuet published his work, entitled, *The Traditionary History of the New Mystics*.* This treatise, falling short of the import of its title, does not enter into the subject in its full extent; being occupied chiefly with an examination of the opinions of Clement of Alexandria, and of passages which are found in the works that are circulated under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. It is an interesting specimen of theological and literary criticism, conducted with great ingenuity, but with doubtful success. It would be difficult to show, that Dionysius at least did not go as far on the subject of inward experience as any writers of the new sect.

12. Another work from the same pen soon appeared, entitled, *A Memoir of the Bishop of Meaux*, addressed to the archbishop of Cambray, on the *Maxims of the Saints*.

* *Tradition des Nouveaux Mystiques*.

Five distinct papers or articles appeared, at different times, under this title. The first is dated July 15th, 1697.

The doctrine of Fenelon may be reduced to three leading propositions. First, The provisions of the gospel are such, that men may gain the entire victory over their sinful propensities, and may live in constant and accepted communion with God. Second, Persons are in this state, when they love God with all their heart; in other words, with pure or unselfish love. Third, There have been instances of Christians, though probably few in number, who, so far as can be decided by man's imperfect judgment, have reached this state; and it is the duty of all, encouraged by the ample provision which is made, to strive to attain to it.

It is obvious, I think, that Bossuet felt considerable reluctance in attacking this doctrine in its general form. He felt much safer in directing his objections against the development of it in *particulars*. Accordingly, in the third section of the first Memoir, he selects forty-eight propositions, or more truly and properly forty-eight sentences and parts of sentences, to which he makes objections more or less specific and important. Some of these objections are strongly put undoubtedly; — others appear to be founded upon a misconception of the meaning of Fenelon; — and others, again, are illustrations of those mere verbal criticisms, to which almost every literary and theological performance is exposed in consequence of the imperfection of language.

13. Another work of Bossuet, written with the same general object, is entitled, *An Answer to four Letters of the Archbishop of Cambray*. Fenelon had written the letters to which he refers, in answer to the memoir of the bishop of Meaux, of which we have just spoken. The letters of Fenelon and the answer of Bossuet may well compare with each other in power of argument, and in evidences of learning. They are not written, however, in the same spirit.

The work of Fenelon is characterized by forbearance and kindness. It is evident that he endeavored to carry into the controversy the principles of his belief and heart. The work of Bossuet gives painful evidence, that his increased interest in the discussion had begun to be embittered by feelings of impatience and of personal alienation.

14. There is another important work of Bossuet, entitled, *A Summary of the Doctrine of the Archbishop of Cambray*, written both in French and Latin. To this work Fenelon made a reply which attracted much attention. Bossuet, in allusion to this reply, made the following remark in one of his subsequent publications: — *His friends say everywhere, that his reply is a triumphant work; and that he has great advantages in it over me. We shall see hereafter whether it is so.*"

On this remark, which seemed to indicate a degree of asperity of feeling, Fenelon commented afterwards, in a letter which he addressed to Bossuet, in the following terms: — "May Heaven forbid, that I should strive for victory over any person; least of all, over you! It is not man's victory, but God's glory, which I seek; and happy, thrice happy, shall I be, if that object is secured, though it should be attended with *my* confusion and with *your* triumph. There is no occasion, therefore, to say, *We shall see who will have the advantage*. I am ready now, without waiting for future developments, to acknowledge that you are my superior in science, in genius, in every thing which usually commands attention. And in respect to the controversy between us, there is nothing which I wish more than to be vanquished by you, if the positions which I take are wrong. Two things only do I desire, — TRUTH and PEACE; — *truth* which may enlighten, and *peace* which may unite us." *

* Cinquième Lettre en reponse à Divers Ecrits sur le livre intitulé Explication des Maximes des Saints.

15. Among the other publications from the pen of Bossuet, which appeared in this remarkable controversy, were the two learned treatises in Latin, entitled, *Mystici in Tuto*, and *Schola in Tuto*. The object of the treatise last mentioned is to show, that the schoolmen, as they are called, (a term which indicates, as it is employed by Bossuet, those learned men in the Catholic church who have written chiefly upon its speculative doctrines,) did not recognize and teach the doctrine of PURE LOVE; at least not in the sense in which Fenelon understood it. In this opinion, I think it may be conceded that Bossuet is generally correct. If, among the numerous class of writers that come under that denomination, there are a few who propound and defend the doctrine of pure love, the number is certainly small.

The object of the other work is to show, that the class of writers denominated the Mystics also, who are experimental rather than speculative and critical, are either equally ignorant of it or are equally opposed to it. Some of these writers are such imperfect masters of the art of literary composition, they express themselves with so little of rhetorical precision, that it would be an easy thing for an ingenious man, who paid more attention to the word than to the thought, to perplex them by the aid of their own declarations, and to place them even in opposition to themselves, out of their own writings. But, as a general statement, nothing can be more clear than that these writers agree in this doctrine. It is their favorite doctrine. They abound in expressions and passages, so strong, so remarkable, that we cannot help the conviction, that their hearts, as well as their heads, speak. They taught perfect love, because it seemed to some of them at least, that they had it.

16. But we will not undertake to go through with this enumeration. Take it all in all, the subject of discussion, the men who were engaged in it, its multiplied relations, the

historical, theological, and literary ability displayed in it, it was a controversy perhaps not exceeded in interest by any of which we have record. Fenelon was not idle. He showed himself at home on every contested proposition; and not more a master of language, than he was of every form of legitimate argument.

Bossuet, surprised at the strength and skill of his antagonist, and exposed to defeat after fifty years of victory, made a renewed and still more vigorous effort. He denominated this new work, which is as much narrative in its character as argumentative, the *History of Quietism*. Of this work, Butler, in his *Life of Fenelon*,* speaks in the following terms:—“In composing it, Bossuet availed himself of some secret and confidential writings which he had received from Madame Guyon, also of private letters written to him by Fenelon, during their early intimacy, and of a letter which, under the seal of friendship, Fenelon had written to Madame de Maintenon, and which, in this trying hour, she unfeelingly communicated to Bossuet. The substance of these different pieces, Bossuet connected together with great art,—he interwove in them the mention of many curious facts, gave an entertaining account of Madame Guyon’s visions and pretensions to inspiration, [visions and pretensions which, on a fair and candid interpretation of her *Life*, are satisfactorily explained,] and related many interesting anecdotes of the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth and of Madame de Maintenon during the controversy. And this was not all. He so dignified his narrative from time to time with bursts of lofty and truly episcopal eloquence;—he deplored so feelingly the errors of Fenelon;—he presented his own conduct during their disputes in so favorable a view, and put the

* *Life of Fenelon*, archbishop of Cambray, by Charles Butler, Esq., chap. xi.

whole together with such exquisite skill, and expressed it with so much elegance and even brilliancy of language, as excited universal admiration, and attracted universal favor to its author. In one part of it he assumed a style of mystery, and announced, 'that the time was come, when it was the Almighty's will, that the secrets of the union [that is to say, of the undue intimacy between La Combe, Fenelon, and Madame Guyon] should be revealed.' A terrible revelation was then expected; it seemed to appal every heart; it seemed that the existence of virtue itself would become problematical, if it should be proved that Fenelon was not virtuous."

17. This performance of Bossuet, which in its literary features deserves all the encomium which Butler has passed upon it, could not fail to excite universal attention. There is a letter of Madame de Maintenon extant, which shows the eagerness with which it was read. "They talk here [at Versailles] of nothing else; they lend it; they snatch it from one another; they devour it." There was a natural desire on the part of men of taste, to read any thing that came from the hand of Bossuet. But under the existing circumstances, religious zeal, more than any thing else, instigated the principle of curiosity. When the church was in danger, how was it possible to remain indifferent? There were some also, like the Athenian who was tired of hearing Aristides called the Just, wearied with what was constantly said of the disinterestedness and virtue of Fenelon, who seized with avidity upon every thing that promised to obscure the lustre of his character.

18. When this remarkable work appeared, the consternation of the friends of Fenelon was very great. Strong in the confidence of his own integrity, and never doubting the care of an overruling providence, Fenelon, who wished to retain a Christian spirit in the bitterness of controversy, had

at first no intention to answer it. But his friends informed him, particularly the Abbé de Chanterac, on whose opinions he had been accustomed to place great reliance, that the impression which it had made against him was so strong as to render a full refutation of it absolutely necessary. On further reflection, therefore, he altered his first intention, and made up his mind to reply. He wrote the reply, under the title of an *Answer to the History of Quietism*,* in about six weeks. The work of Bossuet appeared in the middle of June; the reply of Fenelon was published on the third of August.

19. If the work of Bossuet was ingenious and eloquent, as any thing which appeared from his pen could hardly be otherwise, the reply of Fenelon was not less so. "A nobler effusion," says Butler, "of the indignation of insulted virtue and genius, eloquence has never produced. In the very first lines of it, Fenelon placed himself above his antagonist, and to the last preserves his elevation."

"Notwithstanding my innocence," says Fenelon, "I was always apprehensive that the controversy might take the shape of a dispute in relation to facts. I well knew, that such a dispute between persons who sustained the office of bishop, must occasion no small degree of scandal. If, as the bishop of Meaux has a hundred times asserted, my work on the *Maxims of the Saints* in relation to the Interior Life, considered in its theological and experimental aspects, is full of the most extravagant contradictions and the most monstrous errors, why does he introduce other topics, and have recourse to other discussions, which must be attended with the most terrible of scandals? Why does he reveal to libertines what he terms, speaking of myself, a woeful mystery, a prodigy of seduction? Why, when the propriety of cen-

* *Reponse à la Relation sur le Quietisme.*

sure my book is the sole question, does he travel out of its text, and introduce other matters?

20. "The reason of this course is here. The bishop of Meaux begins to find it difficult to establish the truth of his accusations of my doctrine. In his inability to convict me of theological error, he calls to his aid the personal history of Madame Guyon, and lays hold of it as he would of some amusing romance, which he thought would be likely to make all his mistakes of my doctrine disappear and be forgotten. And not only this, he attacks me personally. No longer satisfied with unfavorable insinuations, he boldly publishes on the house-top what he formerly only ventured to whisper. And, in doing this, I am obliged to add, that he has recourse to a mode of proceeding, which human society condemns not only as wrong, but as odious.

"The secret of private letters, written in intimate and religious confidence, (the most sacred after that of confession,) has nothing sacred, nothing inviolable to him. He produces my letters to Rome; he prints letters, which I wrote to him in the strictest confidence. But all will be useless to him; — he will find, *that nothing that is dishonorable ever proves serviceable.*"

21. In some passages of the work of Bossuet the complaint is made, that improper influences had been used, that cabals and factions were in motion in Fenelon's favor. Fenelon replied by asserting, if such were the case, it could not be ascribed to himself personally, who was at that time banished from the court in a state of exile. "The bishop of Meaux," he says, "complains that cabals and factions are in motion; that passion and interest divide the world. Be it so. But what interest can any person have to stir in my cause? I stand single, and am wholly destitute of human help; no one, that has a view to his interest, dares look upon me. 'Great bodies, great powers,' says the bishop, 'are in motion.' But where are the great bodies, the great

powers that stand up for me? These are the excuses the bishop of Meaux gives, for the world's appearing to be divided on his charges against my doctrine, which at first he represented to be so completely abominable as to admit of no fair explanation. This division, in the public opinion, on a matter which he represented to be so clear, makes him feel it advisable to shift the subject of dispute *from a question of doctrine to a personal charge.*"

"If the bishop of Meaux," he adds near the close of his work, "has any further writing, any further evidence to produce against me, I conjure him not to do it by halves. Such a proceeding, which leaves a part untold, is worse than any full and open publication. Whatever he has against me, I conjure him to announce it, and to forward it instantly to Rome. I thank God, that I fear nothing which will be communicated and examined judicially. I fear nothing but vague report and unexamined allegation."

He concludes by saying, "I cannot here forbear from calling to witness the adorable Being whose eye pierces the thickest darkness, and before whom we must all appear. He reads my heart. He knows that I adhere to no person, and to no book; that I am attached to him alone and to his church; that, incessantly, in his holy presence, I beseech him, with sighs and tears, to shorten the days of scandal, to bring back the shepherds to their flocks, and to restore peace to his church; — and, while he once more reunites all hearts in love, to bestow on the bishop of Meaux as many blessings as the bishop of Meaux has inflicted crosses on me."

22. "Never did virtue and genius," says Butler, "obtain a more complete triumph. Fenelon's reply, by a kind of enchantment, restored to him every heart. Crushed by the strong arm of power, abandoned by the multitude, there was nothing to which he could look but his own powers. Obligated to fight for his honor, it was necessary for him, if he did not

consent to sink under the accusation, to assume a port still more imposing than that of his mighty antagonist. Much had been expected from him ; but none had supposed that he would raise himself to so prodigious a height as would not only repel the attack of his antagonist, but actually reduce him to the defensive."

23. It is much to the credit of Fenelon, as it seems to me, that he seemed entirely willing in this remarkable work, that his own high character should stand or fall with that of Madame Guyon. The king of France had shown himself decidedly hostile to her ; Madame de Maintenon, once her warm friend, had either adopted new views or had fallen under unpropitious influences ; the prominent men of the Catholic church were almost all united against her ; her character, as well as her opinions, had been assailed ; and, apparently deserted by every one, she was at the present time shut up in prison. Fenelon, who had a mind too pure to estimate virtue by the public favor or the want of public favor which attended it, was not the person to forsake her at this trying time.

Bossuet attacked her, in a manner not the most ingenuous, by secret insinuations, which admitted of the most unfavorable construction. Fenelon defended her by facts and arguments. He not only produced the honorable testimonials both in respect to her piety and morals, which had been given her by Bishop d'Aranthon some time before, but he drew a strong argument in her favor from the conduct of Bossuet himself, who had repeatedly examined her in relation to her opinions, who had expressed himself in a favorable manner on more than one occasion, who just before her imprisonment at Vincennes had administered the sacramental element to her with his own hands, and given her an honorable written testimonial.

24. In the second century, in the reign of the Roman

emperor Marcus Aurelius, a religious sect sprang up called the Montanists. They were so called from Montanus, a Phrygian by birth; probably a man of piety whose speculative opinions on religion were vitiated by a mixture of error. Certain it is, that his doctrines attracted the attention of the churches of that period, and were condemned as heretical. His reputation for piety, however, was so great, that he drew after him many followers; among others, two distinguished Phrygian ladies, Priscilla and Maximilla, whose zeal was such that they were willing to become his disciples at the great and perhaps criminal expense of leaving their families. Priscilla, in particular, became one of the active teachers and leaders of the sect.

In one of the works, which originated in this controversy, Bossuet compared Fenelon and Madame Guyon to Montanus and his friend and prophetess Priscilla. Fenelon, who was not ignorant of the estimation in which Montanus was held in the Catholic church, exclaimed against the comparison, as calculated to bring undue odium upon him. Bossuet, in justifying what he had said, admitted, that, though Montanus and Priscilla were closely connected with each other in their religious views and efforts, there never had been any reason to suspect any improper and criminal intercourse between them. He was willing to concede, in conformity with the common opinion, that the relation between them was nothing more than a community and intercourse of mere mental illusion. And in making reference to them in illustration of the existing state of things, he wished to be understood as merely saying, that the relation of Madame Guyon and Fenelon was of the same nature.

25. This partial retraction did not entirely satisfy Fenelon. "Does my illusion," he says, "even in the modified form in which you now present it, resemble that of Montanus? That enthusiastic and deluded man detached from

their husbands two wives, who followed him every where. The result of his instructions and example was to inspire in them the same false spirit of prophecy with which he himself was actuated. And it cannot be unknown to you, that, in the unhappy and wicked excitements to which their system led, two of them, Montanus and Maximilla, strangled themselves. And such is the man, on whom succeeding ages have looked with disapprobation and even with horror, to whom you think it proper to compare me. And you say farther, that I have no right to complain of the comparison. And I say in reply, that I have undoubtedly less reason to complain for myself, than I have to grieve for you; — *you*, who can coolly say, that you accuse me of nothing, and cast no improper reflection upon me, when you make such a comparison. I repeat, that you have done a greater injury to yourself than to me. But what a wretched comfort is this, when I see the scandal it brings into the house of God! I can rejoice in no dishonor which you may incur by such attempts to injure myself. Such joy belongs only to heretics and libertines.”

26. “The scandal was not so great,” says the Chancellor d’Aguesseau, “while these great antagonists confined their quarrel to points of doctrine. But the scene was truly afflicting to all good men, when they attacked each other on facts. They differed from each other so much in their statements that it seemed impossible that both of them should speak the truth; and the public saw with great concern, that one of the two prelates must be guilty of prevarication. Without saying on which side the truth lay, it is certain that the archbishop of Cambray contrived to obtain, in the opinion of the public, the advantage of probability.” *

27. At this time, among the distinguished men of France,

* See the Life of Fenelon by Charles Butler, Esq.

was the Abbe de Rancè. In early years a man of the world, and devoted to the pursuit of its pleasures and honors, his conversion to a religious life was remarkable. But from the day and hour that his eye was opened to the truth of God and his heart felt the influences of the truth, he left no doubt of his purpose to live to God alone. Established in the office of regular abbot of the monastery of La Trappe, he projected and carried into effect a wonderful reform of the monks under his care, who had previously become immersed in sloth, and abandoned to shameful excesses. The keen eye of this remarkable man, from the rocks and forests of his almost impenetrable seclusion, watched with great attention the contest between Fenelon and Bossuet. The following letters, addressed to Bossuet, will show what his feelings were;—and if a man so pious, and in general so candid, could express himself with so much severity, I think we can infer from it how deep must have been the general feeling. De Rancè was a man who distinctly acknowledged the importance of the principle of faith; it would be uncharitable to doubt that he himself was a sincere *believer*; but attaching great importance to those physical restraints, humiliations, and sufferings, which go under the name of *austerities*, he was alarmed at the diminished estimation in which they appeared to be held in the writings of Madame Guyon and Fenelon. This I think was the secret of the peculiar tone of his letters.

“La Trappe, March, 1697.

“To the Bishop of Meaux.

“I confess, sir, that I cannot be silent. The book of the archbishop of Cambray has fallen into my hands. I am unable to conceive how a man like him could be capable of indulging in such fantasies, so opposite to what we are taught by the gospel, as well as by the holy tradition of the church. I thought that all the impressions, which might have engen-

dered in him this ridiculous opinion, were entirely effaced ; and that he felt only the grief of having listened to them ; but I was much deceived. It is known that you have written against this monstrous system ; that is, that you have destroyed it, for whatever you write, sir, is decisive. I pray to God that he may bless your pen, as he has done on so many other occasions ; and that he may gift it with such energy, that not a stroke it makes but what shall be a blow. While I cannot think of the work of the archbishop of Cambray without indignation, I implore of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he will give him grace to be sensible of his errors."

In a letter of the 14th of April following, the Abbe de Rancè expresses himself still more harshly, respecting the book of the archbishop of Cambray :—

"If the chimeras of these fanatics were to be received," says he to Bossuet, "we must close the book of God ; — we must abandon the gospel, however holy and necessary may be its practices, as if they were of no utility ; — we must, I say, hold as nothing the life and actions of Jesus Christ, adorable as they are, if the opinions of these mad men are to find any credence in the mind, and if their authority be not entirely extirpated from it. It is, in short, a consummate impiety, hidden beneath singular and unusual phrases, beneath affected expressions and extraordinary terms, all of which have no other end than to impose upon the soul and to delude it."

28. The letters of the Abbe de Rancè, contrary in all probability to his own expectations, were made public, and great efforts were made to circulate them. As the letters were not addressed to Fenelon, and were apparently written with no design of their being published, he did not think it proper to make any formal reply to them. A few months afterwards, however, he had occasion to address a Pastoral Letter, written at considerable length, to the clergy of his

own diocese. The letter, while it did not entirely exclude some other appropriate topics, was a learned and eloquent defence of the doctrine of PURE LOVE, as expressing a true, desirable, and possible form of Christian experience. The publication of this letter seemed to Fenelon to furnish a suitable opportunity to open a correspondence with de Rancè. He accordingly sent to the Abbe a copy of it, accompanied by the following letter, addressed to the Abbe himself: —

“Cambray, Oct. 1697.

“To the Abbe de Rancè.

“I take the liberty, my reverend father, of sending you a Pastoral Letter, which I have issued respecting my book. This explanation seemed to me to be necessary, as soon as I perceived from your letters, which were made public, that so enlightened and experienced a man as yourself had conceived me in a manner very different from my meaning. I am not surprised, that you believed what was said to you against me, both with regard to the past and the present. I am not known to you; and there is nothing in me which can render it difficult to believe the evil which is reported of me. You have confided in the opinion of a prelate whose acquirements are very vast. It is true, my reverend father, that, if you had done me the honor to write to me respecting any thing which may have displeased you in my book, I should have endeavored either to remove your displeasure, or to correct myself. In case you should be thus kind, after having read the accompanying pastoral letter, I shall still be ready to profit by your knowledge, and with deference. Nothing has occurred to alter in me those sentiments which are due to you, and to the work which God has performed through you. Besides, I am sure you will not be hostile to the doctrine of disinterested love, when that which is equivocal in it shall be removed; and when you

are convinced how much I should abhor to weaken the necessity of desiring our beatitude in God. On this subject I wish for nothing more than what St. Bernard has taught with so much sublimity, and which you know better than I do. He left this doctrine to his children as their most precious inheritance. If it were lost and forgotten in the whole world beside, it is at La Trappe, where we should still find it in the hearts of your pious ascetics. It is this love which gives their real value to the holy austerities which they practise. This pure love, which leaves nothing to nature, by referring every thing to grace, does not encourage illusion, which always springs from the natural and excessive love of ourselves. It is not in yielding to this pure love, but in not following it sufficiently, that we are misled. I cannot conclude this letter without soliciting of you the aid of your prayers, and of those of your community. I have need of them; — you love the church; — God is my witness that I wish to live but for her, and that I should abhor myself, if I could account myself as any thing on this occasion.

“I shall ever be with sincere veneration,

“Yours, &c.

“FRANCIS, ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY.”

29. I think the reader will hardly fail to notice a marked difference in the spirit of these letters. Such was the reputation for piety of the Abbe de Rancè, that few men in France at that time, perhaps none, could have done Fenelon so much injury. But how calmly and triumphantly does the gentle and purified spirit of Fenelon carry him above the violence which issued from the solitude of La Trappe! De Rancè had faith; but embarrassed, probably, by that common idea which precludes the hope of victory in the present life, he had not faith enough to subdue the fears, the agitations, and the injustice of nature.

The faith of Fenelon, who had taken the promises of God without a doubt, was of that triumphant kind which can forgive its enemies, and turn the other cheek to him who has smitten us. Nothing could be more meek, and at the same time more confiding and generous, than the spirit which he manifested. "We know not," says M. de Bausset, in his life of Fenelon, "whether the Abbe de Rancè replied to this letter. It must certainly have caused him some regret for having expressed himself with so much asperity concerning a bishop who wrote to him with such mildness and esteem. *It is certain, however, that the name of the Abbe of la Trappe was heard no more in the course of this controversy.*"

CHAPTER XV.

1697-1699. *The subject of controversy brought before the Pope, Innocent Twelfth. He appoints commissioners to examine it. Of the divisions which existed in regard to it. The decision in relation to the book delayed. Dissatisfaction of the king of France. He writes a letter to the Pope. He banishes Fenelon. Letter of Fenelon to Madame de Maintenon. Interest expressed in the behalf of Fenelon by the duke of Burgundy. Conversation of the king with the duke de Beauvilliers. His treatment of the Abbe Beaumont and others. Interesting letter of Fenelon to the duke de Beauvilliers. Second letter of the king to the pope. Condemnation of Fenelon.*

It was seen at an early period of the controversy, that there was no probability of its being settled by any tribunal short of the highest authority of the Catholic church, that of the pope himself. At this time Innocent Twelfth, a man of a benevolent and equitable spirit, filled the papal chair. The subject was brought to his notice, and pressed upon him with great earnestness, by persons who were supposed to act in accordance with the wishes of Louis Fourteenth.

2. There can be no doubt, that it was a matter of great grief to the pope, that such a controversy on such a subject should be brought before him. He had indulged the hope that the business might be settled in France by mild and conciliatory measures; and went so far as to order his nuncio to express this wish to Louis. The suggestion was entirely unavailing. The mind of Louis was so strongly

possessed with the idea, that the doctrine of Fenelon was heretical; it had caused such great discussions and divisions in France; and in many ways it had been so brought before his notice, and had so implicated itself in his various relations, that it had become a personal concern. It is obvious, I think, that nothing would satisfy him but its formal condemnation.

The position of Innocent was a trying one. Such were the relations existing between him and the king of France, that it would probably have occasioned much difficulty between them, if he had declined giving attention to a matter, in which the king had shown so much interest.

3. The pope began the unpleasant work, which was thus devolved upon him, by appointing a commission of twelve persons, called *consultors*, for the purpose of examining the book of Fenelon and giving an opinion upon it. They were directed to hold their meetings in the chamber of the master of the Sacred Palace. Having discussed the principles and expressions of the book, in twelve successive sittings, they found themselves so divided in opinion in relation to it, that no satisfactory result could reasonably be anticipated from a continuance of their deliberations. They were accordingly dissolved.

His next step was to select a commission or congregation of cardinals, in the hopes, if the work were so heretical as it was pronounced by some to be, that they would be able to come to some conclusion, which would aid him in forming his own decision, — a decision which he felt would naturally involve great responsibility. This body also had twelve sittings. They found themselves, however, greatly divided; came to no conclusion, and were dissolved.*

4. He then appointed a new congregation of cardinals.

* See the Life of Fenelon by Charles Butler, Esq.

They met in consultation no less than fifty-two times. The result of their deliberations was, but by no means with entire unanimity, that they extracted from Fenelon's work a number of propositions which they regarded as censurable, and reported them to the pope. After they had advanced so far, they held thirty-seven meetings to settle the form of the censure. In addition to these more formal meetings, private conferences on the subject were frequently held by the pope's direction, and sometimes in his presence.

5. The cardinals Alfaro, Fabroni, Bouillon, and Gabriellio, and some others perhaps of less note, took the side of Fenelon.* Men of no ordinary learning and power, they maintained with great ability, that the doctrine in question had authority and support in many approved Catholic writers. They did not hesitate, in the least, to defend the statements repeatedly made by Fenelon in his arguments with Bossuet and on other occasions, that it was a doctrine not only received but greatly cherished by many pious and learned men in all ages of the church; by Clement, Cassian, Dionysius, Thauler, Gerson, De Sales, John of the Cross, St. Theresa, the bishop of Bellay and others; and to this they were willing to add, that there was not more of such learned and pious authority in its favor, than there was of Scripture and reason. Gabriellio said, on one occasion, expressly, that it was a doctrine conformed to the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Mystics.

They did not, however, in maintaining the doctrine of pure love, exclude the idea of a suitable regard to our own happiness. They seem to have taken the ground, that God

* See the work, entitled, *Relation de l'Origine, du Progrès, et de la Condemnation du Quietisme repandu en France*; — anonymous, but generally ascribed to Monsieur Phelipeaux, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and an intimate friend of Bossuet.

and ourselves, considered as objects of love, are incommensurable; and consequently that the motive of God's love, exceeding the other beyond all comparison, practically absorbs and annihilates it. So that a soul wholly given to God, may properly be said to love God alone. But the doctrine of GOD ALONE does not exclude other things, since God is *All in All*. In other words, in loving God for himself alone, who is the sum of all good, we cannot help loving ourselves, our neighbor, and every thing else in their proper place and degree. Alfaro, in concluding some remarks, at one of these meetings, read a letter addressed many ages before, by St. Louis of France, to one of his daughters, in which he advised her to do every thing from the principle of *pure love*.

6. Among other things, they expressed no small degree of dissatisfaction with the course the controversy had taken in certain respects; remonstrating strongly against the attempt to confound doctrines with men, to implicate the permanency of truth with the imperfections of character, and to support a doubtful argument by personal defamation. I think we may justly say, that it was much to their credit, when they saw the efforts constantly made in high places and low, to destroy the character of Fenelon, that they gave their opinions freely and boldly in his favor. "Consider a moment," said Cardinal Bouillon, "who it is that you propose to condemn? A distinguished archbishop, a man prudent and wise in the government of his diocese, a man who combines with a literary taste and power not exceeded by that of any other person in the kingdom, the utmost sanctity of life and manners." They went so far as to intimate, that, if the doctrine of PURE LOVE were condemned, sustained as it was by such a weight of authority and argument, and encircled as it was by so many strong affections, — it could hardly fail to produce a schism in the church.

7. The leading men on the other side were the cardinals Massoulier, Pantiatici, Carpegna, Casanata, and Granelli. Their arguments were directed against the doctrine, partly in its general form, and partly against particular expressions and views, which characterized it, in the writings of Fenelon. So far as their arguments were general, they were very much the same as are employed against it at the present day. They maintained that it was a state too high to be possessed and maintained in the present life ; that there were many things in the Scriptures against it ; that the exaggerated expressions in the mystical or experimental writers of the Catholic church ought to be received in a modified sense ; that it was either modified or rejected by a great majority of their theological writers and other writers not of the mystical class ; and that it had been attended, in a number of instances, with practical disorders.

8. The contest between the two parties was animated, and sometimes violent. For a time it seemed doubtful what would be the result. The discussion was thus continued from 1697 to 1699, a period of nearly two years, under the eye and in the presence of the pope. The king of France, who was in frequent communication with Bossuet on the subject, became impatient, on learning doubts which he did not himself entertain, and under a delay which he did not anticipate.

In order to hasten an issue, which seemed to him very desirable, he had written at an earlier period of the controversy a letter to the pope, in which he denounced the book of the archbishop of Cambray, *as erroneous and dangerous*, and as already censured by a great number of theological doctors and other learned persons. He added, that the explanations more recently given by the archbishop were inadmissible ; and concluded by assuring the pope, that *he would*

*employ all his authority to obtain the due execution of his Holiness' decree.**

This letter, which was drawn up by Bossuet, was dated the 26th of July, 1697.

9. The desires and feelings of the king were made known in other ways still more painful. When Fenelon was first appointed archbishop of Cambray in 1695, his character was so much esteemed and his services were regarded so important, the king insisted, that he should spend three months in a year at Versailles in the instruction of the young princes.

Six days after the date of the letter to the pope, the king wrote a letter or order to Fenelon, which might properly be denominated an order of banishment, in which he required him to leave Versailles, and repair to the diocese of Cambray, *and forbade him to quit it*. It was added further, that he was not at liberty to delay his departure any longer than was absolutely necessary to arrange his affairs.

10. Those principles of inward experience, which so triumphantly sustained Madame Guyon in her imprisonment, received a new confirmation in the victory which they now achieved in Fenelon. The very moment he received from the king the order which thus banished him from all places out of his own diocese, he wrote the following letter to Madame de Maintenon. Bausset says, that he copied it from the original manuscript in Fenelon's handwriting.

“Versailles, Aug. 1, 1697.

“In obedience to the king's commands, madame, I shall depart from this place to-morrow. I would not pass through Paris, did I not feel it difficult to find any where else a man fit to attend to my affairs at Rome, and who would be willing

* Life of Fenelon, by Bausset, vol. i. p. 182.

to make the journey there. I shall return to Cambray with a heart full of submission, full of zeal, of gratitude, and of the greatest attachment towards the king. My greatest grief is, that I have harassed and displeased him. Not a day of my life shall pass over, that I will not pray to God to bless him. I am willing to be still more humbled. The only thing that I would implore of his Majesty is, that the diocese of Cambray, which is guiltless, may not suffer for the faults that are imputed to me. I solicit protection only for the church; and I limit this protection to the circumstance of being free to perform the little good that my situation will permit me to perform as part of my duty.

“It only remains, madame, that I request your forgiveness for all the trouble I may have caused you. God knows how much I regret it; and I will unceasingly pray to him, until he alone shall occupy your whole heart. I shall, all my life, be as sensible of your past goodness, as though I had never forfeited it; and my respectful attachment towards you, madame, will never diminish.”

11. “We may easily conceive,” says Bausset, “what an effect this letter, every line of which breathes nothing but mildness, affection, and serenity, had upon Madame de Maintenon. Recalling all her former friendship for Fenelon, she could not conceal from herself, the active part which she had taken in his present disgrace. It cannot, indeed, be doubted, that this letter left a painful and durable impression upon her heart. She tells us, herself, that her health was impaired in consequence; and that she did not conceal the cause of her illness from Louis XIV. The monarch himself seemed, at first, to be a little hurt; and could not help peevishly exclaiming to her, as he marked her affliction, — *So it seems, madame, we are to see you die in consequence of this business.*”

12. The duke of Burgundy, who had owed so much to

the labors and prayers of Fenelon, was no sooner informed of the order of exile against his beloved preceptor, than he hastened to throw himself at the feet of the king, his grandfather. He appealed to himself and to the renovation of his own heart and life, as a proof of the purity of the life and maxims of his faithful and affectionate instructor. Louis was touched by an attachment so ingenuous and generous. But fixed in his principles of belief, and invariable in whatever he had decided, he merely replied to the young prince, *My son, it is not in my power to make this thing a matter of favor. The purity of religious faith is concerned in it. And Bossuet knows more on that subject than either you or I.*

13. On the second of August, Fenelon departed from Versailles, never to return again. He found it necessary to pass through the city of Paris; but he remained there only twenty-four hours. He cast a tender and last look towards the seminary of St. Sulpitius, in which he had spent the peaceful and happy years of his youth. A motive of delicacy, nevertheless, forbade his entering its walls. He feared that he might involve in his own sorrow and disgrace his former friend and instructor, Monsieur Tronson, who had the charge of it. He, however, wrote him a few lines, in which he expressed his veneration and gratitude; and asking the continuance of that good man's prayers, of which he said he had much need in his sufferings, he went on his way.

14. It was but a few months after he had reached Cambray, and was assiduously engaged in his religious duties among his own people, when he received intimations, that the way was open for his return on certain conditions. To this he refers in a letter to the Abbe de Chanterac, dated Dec. 9, 1697. "It is reported," he says, "that the only means by which I can appease the king, obtain my return to court, and prevent all scandal, is to remove the present unfavora-

ble opinions by an *humble acknowledgment of error*. But I assure you that I have no present nor future idea of returning to court. If I am in error, it is my desire to be undeceived. But as long as I am unable to perceive my error, it is my purpose to justify my position with unceasing patience and humility. Be assured that I will never return to court at the expense of truth, or by a compromise, which would leave the purity either of my doctrine or of my reputation in doubt."

15. The friends of Fenelon were, to some extent, involved in his calamities. Foremost among those friends was the duke de Beauvilliers, who held one of the most important places in the kingdom. He believed in the doctrine of pure love, originated and sustained by faith in the Son of God; and he had experienced in his own renovated heart the effects which this doctrine, more than any other, is calculated to produce. He was the avowed and known friend of Madame Guyon, as well as of Fenelon. The king was offended with him. Taking Beauvilliers aside, soon after the banishment of the archbishop of Cambray, he told him with his own lips how much he was dissatisfied at his connection with a person whose doctrines were so much suspected. He intimated to him distinctly, that his continuance in such a course would be likely to be attended with the most unpleasant consequences.

Beauvilliers, in reply to Louis, assured him of his entire conviction, that the princes who had been under the care of the archbishop of Cambray had not been infected with any erroneous or dangerous doctrine. He then proceeded to say, — "I remember, sire, that I recommended to your majesty the appointment of Fenelon to be the preceptor of the duke of Burgundy. I can never repent that I did so. I have been the friend of Fenelon; I am his friend now. I can submit to whatever your majesty may impose

upon me ; but I cannot eradicate the sentiments of my heart. The power of your majesty has raised me to my present position : the same power can degrade me. Acknowledging the will of God in the will of my king, I shall cheerfully withdraw from your court whenever you shall require it ; regretting that I have displeased you, and hoping that I may lead hereafter a life of greater tranquillity.

The king, overawed by the nobleness of his sentiments, or fearing the rashness of the course which he had threatened, permitted him to remain in his place.

16. The next year, on the 2d of June, 1698, the king deprived the Abbe Beaumont and the Abbe de Langeron of their title of sub-preceptors. "The former was *Fenelon's nephew* ; the latter was his most *tender and faithful* friend. Messieurs M. Dupuy and De Leschelle, gentlemen who held situations about the person of the young prince, were also dismissed on the same day, and ordered to quit the court. The pretext for their dismissal was their partiality for the spiritual maxims of the archbishop of Cambray. The real motive was their *affectionate and inviolable fidelity towards him*.

"All of them had been concerned in the education of the duke of Burgundy for nine years ; — and the excellence of this education has been detailed. They were dismissed without receiving the slightest reward for their services. Thus severely were punished the men, who had transformed the vices of the duke of Burgundy into virtues ; a severity which could have been justified only, had they changed his virtues into vices." *

17. Fenelon, in the distant place of his exile, was made acquainted with these transactions. He felt more deeply the disgrace and suffering of his friends, than he did his

* Bausset's Life of Fenelon, vol. i. chap. xi.

own; but he maintained, under circumstances so exceedingly trying, the same equanimity and triumphant faith, which had supported him hitherto. In a letter, which he wrote at this time to the duke of Beauvilliers, we find the following expressions, which indicate very clearly, how patient and lovely is the heart that is wholly given to God:—

“I cannot avoid telling you, my good duke, what I have at heart. Yesterday I spent the day in devotion and prayer for the king. I did not ask for him any temporal prosperity, for of that he has enough. I only begged that he might make a good use of it; and that, amidst such great success, he might be as humble, as if he had undergone some deep humiliation. I begged that he might not only fear God and respect religion, but that he might also love God, and feel how easy and light his yoke is to those who bear it less through fear than love. I never found in myself a greater degree of zeal; or, if I may venture to use the expression, of affection to his person.

“Far from being under any uneasiness at my present situation, which might have suggested unpleasant feelings against him, I would have offered myself with joy to God, for the sanctification of the king. I even considered his zeal against my book as a commendable effect of his religion, and of his just abhorrence of whatever has to him the appearance of novelty. Desirous that he might be an object of the divine favor, I called to mind his education without solid instruction, the flatteries which have surrounded him, the snares laid for him in his youth, the profane counsels that were given him, the distrust that was with so much pains instilled into him against the excesses of certain professors of devotion; and lastly, the perils of greatness, and so great a multiplicity of nice affairs. I own, that with all these things in view, I had great compassion for a soul so much exposed. I judged his case deserved to be lamented;

and I wished him a more plentiful degree of mercy to support him in so formidable a state of prosperity. In all this I had not, as I apprehended, the least interested view; for I would have consented to a perpetual disgrace, provided I knew that the king was entirely after God's own heart.

"As far as relates to myself, all I can say is, I am at peace in the midst of almost continual sufferings. Trusting in God's assistance to sustain me, the scandals which my enemies cast upon me shall neither exasperate nor discourage me."

18. One object of these proceedings of the king of France, which were characterized by an unusual degree of violence, was to make an impression at Rome. They were a part of a plan of intimidation; but they did not have all the effect, or at least all the *immediate* effect, which was anticipated from them. Public opinion was still divided; there had been a want of unanimity in the debates and decisions of the congregation of the cardinals at Rome; the pope himself hesitated to give a decision.

Under these circumstances, Louis, near the close of the year 1698, wrote another letter, which was despatched to the pope by an extraordinary courier. It was as follows:—

"Most holy Father,

"At the time when I expected from the zeal and friendship of your Holiness, a prompt decision upon the book of the archbishop of Cambray, I could not learn, without grief, that this decision, so necessary to the peace of the church, is *still retarded by the artifices of those who think it their interest to protract it*. I see so clearly the fatal consequences of this delay, that I should not consider myself as duly supporting the title of eldest son of the church, were I not to reiterate the urgent entreaties which I have so often made to your Holiness, and to beg of you to calm, at length, the

anxieties of conscience which this book has caused. Tranquillity can now be expected only from the decision that shall be pronounced by the common father; — but let it be clear and precise, and capable of no misinterpretations; — such a decision, in fact, as is necessary to remove all doubt with regard to doctrine, and to eradicate the very root of the evil. I demand, most holy Father, this decision, for the good of the church, the tranquillity of the faithful, and for the glory of your Holiness. You know how truly sensible I am, and how much I am convinced of your paternal tenderness. To such powerful and important motives, I would add, the attention which I entreat you to pay to my request, and the filial respect with which I am,

“Most holy Father,

“Your truly devoted Son,

“LOUIS.”

19. It was under such circumstances as these, on the 12th of March, 1699, that a decree was issued over the signature of the pope, condemning the book of Fenelon, or perhaps more properly condemning twenty-three propositions, which purported to be extracted from it. The pope, however, took the pains to say, and to have it understood, that they were condemned in the sense which they might bear, or which they were actually regarded as bearing in the view of others, and not in the sense in which they were explained by Fenelon himself. “The pope,” says Monsieur de Bausset, “had openly declared on many occasions, that neither he nor the cardinals had intended to condemn the explanations, which the archbishop of Cambray had given of his book.”

To such a condemnation Fenelon could have comparatively but little objection. It was really not a condemnation of himself, but of others who undertook to speak and to interpret for

him. While he was sincere and firm in his own belief, he had no disposition to defend the misconceptions and perversions of other people. To what extent, however, he availed himself of the suggestion which thus dropped from the pope, we have no means of knowing. Certain it is, whatever view he took of the act of condemnation, he made no complaint. He thought it his duty as a Catholic to be submissive to the higher authorities of his church. He received the news of his condemnation on the Sabbath, just as he was about to ascend his pulpit to preach. He delayed a few moments ; changed the plan of his sermon, and delivered one upon the duty of submission to the authority of superiors.

From that time he ceased to write controversially upon the subject. But, without regarding what was said by others, and in the discharge of his own duties among his own people, he never ceased to inculcate in his life, his conversations, and his practical writings, the doctrine of pure love. He thought it his duty to avoid certain forms of expression, and certain illustrations which had been specifically condemned in the papal decree, and which were liable to misconception ; but it is not easy to see that he went further. In other words, he condemned sincerely what he understood the pope to condemn ; and he did this without any change, further than has already been intimated, either in his life or opinions.

CHAPTER XVI.

Character of Fenelon. Labors in his diocese. His method of preaching. His visits among his people. Of the peasant who lost his cow. The feelings of Fenelon, when the bishop's palace at Cambray was burnt. His conduct during a time of war. Respect in which he was held by the belligerent parties. His hospitality. Extract from the Chevalier Ramsay. Of the spirit of quietude or quietism, which was ascribed to him. Meditations on the infant Jesus. Of his forbearance and meekness in relation to others. His views on religious toleration. Feelings in relation to his separation from his friends. His correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. His death.

As the personal history of Fenelon is closely connected with that of Madame Guyon, and as he may be regarded as an illustration of the power and tendency of the principles she inculcated, we propose to occupy a few pages further with some incidents of his life, and with some general views of his character.

At an early period Fenelon had devoted himself to the ministry of Jesus Christ. After he was appointed archbishop of Cambray, he had but one object, that of benefiting his people. This was particularly the case after he was compelled to relinquish the instruction of the grandchildren of the king, and was confined by the royal order to his own diocese. We do not mean to imply, that he had a more benevolent disposition then, but he had a better opportunity to exercise it. With a heart filled with the love of God, which can never be separated from the love of

God's creatures, it was his delight to do good ; and especially in the religious sense of the terms.

2. Under the influence of these feelings, he was very diligent in visiting all parts of his diocese. He preached by turns in every church in it ; and with great care and faithfulness, examined, instructed, and exhorted both priests and people.

In his preaching he was affectionate and eloquent, but still very plain and intelligible. Excluding from his sermons superfluous ornaments as well as obscure and difficult reasonings, he might be said to preach from the heart rather than from the head. He generally preached without notes, but not without premeditation and prayer. It was his custom, before he preached, to spend some time in the retirement of his closet ; that he might be sure that his own heart was filled from the divine fountain, before he poured it forth upon the people. One great topic of his preaching was the doctrine so dear to him, and for which he had suffered so much, of PURE LOVE.

3. He was very temperate in his habits, eating and sleeping but little. He rose early ; and his first hours were devoted to prayer and meditation. His chief amusement, when he found it necessary to relax a little from his arduous toils, was that of walking and riding. He loved rural scenes, and it was a great pleasure to him to go out in the midst of them. "The country," he says, in one of his letters, "delights me. In the midst of it, I find God's holy peace." Every thing seemed to him to be full of infinite goodness ; and his heart glowed with the purest happiness, as he escaped from the business and cares which necessarily occupied so much of his time, into the air and the fields, into the flowers and the sunshine of the great Creator.

But in a world like this, where it is a first principle of Christianity that we should forget ourselves and our own

happiness in order that we may do good to others, he felt it a duty to make even this sublime pleasure subservient to the claims of benevolence. In these occasional excursions he could hardly fail to meet with some of the poor peasants in his diocese ; and he carefully improved these opportunities to form a personal acquaintance with them and their families, and to counsel and console them. Sometimes when he met them, he would sit down with them upon the grass ; and inquiring familiarly about the state of their affairs, he gave them kind and suitable advice ; — but above all things, he affectionately recommended to them to seek an interest in the Saviour, and to lead a religious life.

He went into their cottages to speak to them of God, and to comfort and relieve them under the hardships they suffered. If these poor people, when he thus visited them, presented him with any refreshments in their unpretending and unpolished manner, he pleased them much by seating himself at their simple table, and partaking cheerfully and thankfully of what was set before him. He showed no false delicacy because they were poor, and because their habitations, in consequence of their poverty, exhibited but little of the conveniences and comforts of those who were more wealthy. In the fulness of his benevolent spirit, which was filled with the love of Christ and of all for whom Christ died, he became in a manner one of them, as a brother among brothers, or as a father among his children.

4. There are various anecdotes which illustrate his condescension and benevolence. In one of the rural excursions to which we have referred, he met with a peasant who was in much affliction. Inquiring the cause of his grief, he was informed by the man that *he had lost his cow*. Fenelon attempted to comfort him, and gave him money enough to buy another. The peasant was grateful for the kindness of the archbishop, but still he was very sad. The reason was,

although the money given him would buy a cow, it would not buy the cow he had lost, — to which he seemed very much attached. Pursuing his walk, Fenelon found, at a considerable distance from the place of his interview with the peasant, the very cow which was the object of so much affliction. The sun had set, and the night was dark ; but the good archbishop, like the good shepherd of the Scriptures, drove her back himself to the poor man's cottage.

5. The revenues which he received as archbishop of Cambray were very considerable ; but he had learned the difficult but noble art of being poor in the midst of plenty. He kept nothing for himself. His riches were in making others rich ; his happiness, in making the poor and suffering happy. On a certain time, before his banishment, when he was spending a part of the year at Versailles in the instruction of the young princes, the news came that a fire had burned to the ground the archiepiscopal palace at Cambray, and consumed all his books and writings. His friend, the Abbè de Langeron, seeing Fenelon conversing with a number of persons, and apparently much at his ease, supposed he had not heard this unpleasant news, and began with some formality and caution to inform him of it. Fenelon, perceiving the solicitude and kindness of the good Abbè, interrupted him by saying that he was acquainted with what had happened ; and added further, although the loss was a very great one, that he was really less affected in the destruction of his own palace, than he would have been by the burning of a cottage of one of the peasants.

6. So elevated and diffusive were his religious principles, that they rendered him the friend of all mankind. It was not necessary for him to stop and inquire a man's creed or nation, as a preliminary to his beneficence. Occasions were not wanting which illustrated his remark. The war, which raged near the commencement of the eighteenth century,

between France and Bavaria on the one side, and England, Holland, and Austria on the other, drew near to the city where he resided. The city of Cambray, formerly the capital of a small province of the same name in the north of France, is not far from the Netherlands, which has sometimes been denominated the battle-field of Europe. At the time of which we are speaking, large armies met in its vicinity, and battles were fought near it. At this trying time, not only the residence which Fenelon occupied as archbishop of the diocese, but other houses beside, hired by him for the purpose, were filled with the sick and wounded, and with poor people driven from the neighboring villages, as they were threatened or were destroyed by the war. The expense which he thus incurred, absorbed all his revenues; but he had no inclination to spare either time, money, or personal effort in these acts of benevolence; acts which were shown as kindly and as freely to the enemies of his country, who were taken prisoners in the war, as to those of his own nation.

The sight of the wretched condition of the refugees in his palace was painful; many were suffering from the want of proper clothing; others were in agony in consequence of their wounds, and others were afflicted with distempers that were infectious; but nothing abated his zeal. He appeared among them daily with the kindness of a parent; dropping words of instruction and consolation, and testifying by his tears how much he was moved with compassion.

7. The marked respect in which he was held, was not confined to the French army alone. He was held in equal veneration by the enemy. The distinguished commanders who were opposed to France, the duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the duke of Ormond, embraced every suitable opportunity of showing their esteem; sending detachments of their men to guard his meadows and his corn;

and causing his grain to be transported with a convoy to Cambray, lest it should be seized and carried off by their own foragers. In the discharge of his religious duties, he went abroad among the people of his diocese, without regard to the hostile armies which occupied the territory. As he went, in the discharge of these duties, in the spirit of Him who came not to increase human suffering, but to bring peace on earth and good will to men, he had faith in a divine protection. So far from any violence being offered to him, the English and Austrian commanders, when they heard that he was to take a journey in that part of the diocese where their armies were situated, sent him word that he had no need of a French escort, and that they would furnish an escort themselves. It is said, that even the hussars of the Imperial troops did not hesitate to do him this service. So true it is that men who live in the spirit of the gospel do, by the very force of their virtue, disarm the hostility of nature.

8. Among those who were taken prisoners at the battle of Denain and conducted to Cambray, was Count Munich, afterwards more extensively known as Marshal Munich. Although he was characterized by great enterprise and bravery, and had an almost exclusive taste for arms, he was deeply affected by what he saw of the peaceful virtues and the truly Christian generosity of Fenelon. He was then young, and appears to have held the office of lieutenant-colonel. He was afterwards one of the most distinguished commanders in the armies of Russia. His name is associated, in the history of war, with sanguinary and victorious campaigns in the Crimea. Raised to the highest place of worldly honor by his talents and courage, he suddenly fell under the displeasure of the empress Elizabeth, in 1741, and was banished to Siberia, where he remained an exile twenty years. He was restored by Peter the Third. But in all

the vicissitudes of his life, in peace and war, in the court and in the camp, disgraced and suffering in the deserts of Siberia, or free and honored in the halls of princes, he delighted, to the very close of his life, to remember the happy days which he passed, as a prisoner of war, in the society of Fenelon; instructing and soothing, as it were, the agitations of his own wild and turbulent spirit by recounting the virtues and actions which he had witnessed at Cambray.

9. At this very period there was another visitant at Cambray of a very different character, the celebrated Cardinal Quirini, whose whole life, as remote as possible from the pursuits of war, was devoted to learned researches and useful studies. In the prosecution of literary objects, he visited almost all parts of Europe, and became acquainted with the most distinguished literary men. In the account of his travels, which he wrote in Latin, he speaks very particularly of his interview with Fenelon.

“I considered,” he says, “Cambray as one of the principal objects of my travels in France. I will not even hesitate to confess, that it was towards this single spot, or rather towards the celebrated Fenelon, who resided there, that I was most powerfully attracted. With what emotions of tenderness I still recall the gentle and affecting familiarity with which that great man deigned to discourse with me, and even sought my conversation; though his palace was then crowded with French generals and commanders-in-chief, towards whom he displayed the most magnificent and generous hospitality. I have still fresh in my recollection all the serious and important subjects which were the topics of our discourse. My ear caught with eagerness every word that issued from his lips. The letters which he wrote me, from time to time, are still before me; letters which are an evidence alike of the wisdom of his principles and

of the purity of his heart. I preserve them among my papers, as the most precious treasure which I have in the world."

It is an evidence both of the kindness and faithfulness of Fenelon, that he endeavors in these very letters to recall the Cardinal Quirini from a too eager and exclusive pursuit of worldly knowledge, to that knowledge of Jesus Christ which renews and purifies the soul.

10. Strangers from all parts of Europe came to see him. Although the duties of hospitality became a laborious work to him, amid the multiplicity and urgency of his other employments, he fulfilled them with the greatest attention, and with the greatest kindness of feeling. It was pleasing to see, how readily he suffered himself to be interrupted in his important duties, in order to attend to any, whatever might be their condition and whatever their wants, who might call upon him. He did not hesitate to drop his eloquent pen, with which he conversed with all Europe, whenever Providence called him to listen to the imperfect utterance of the most ignorant and degraded among his people. And, in doing this, he acted on religious principle. He would rather suffer the greatest personal inconvenience, than injure the feelings of a fellow-man.

11. "I have seen him," says the Chevalier Ramsay, "in the course of a single day, converse with the great and speak their language, ever maintaining the episcopal dignity; afterwards discourse with the simple and the little, like a good father instructing his children. This sudden transition from one extreme to the other, was without affectation or effort, like one who, by the extensiveness of his genius, reaches to all the most opposite distances. I have often observed him at such conferences, and have as much admired the evangelical condescension by which he became all things to all men, as the sublimity of his discourses. While he watched

over his flock with a daily care, *he prayed in the deep retirement of internal solitude*. The many things which were generally admired in him, were nothing in comparison of that divine life by which he *walked with God like Enoch*, and was unknown to men."

12. Fenelon, in the language of those who knew his virtue, but still were willing to say something to his discredit, was denominated a *quietist*. This term is susceptible of a good and a bad meaning. That quietude is bad which is the result of the ignorant and unbelieving pride of self; but it is not so with that quietude which is the result of an intelligent and believing acquiescence in the will of God. There is certainly great grace in being truly and religiously quiet in spirit. It is a remark to be found in some of the pagan philosophers, that man can never be truly happy, until he arrives at such an inward tranquillity as excludes not only unprofitable actions, but even useless thoughts. Heathenism had light enough to perceive the truth; but, rendered weak in its sins, it had not power enough to realize it. It is Christianity alone which reveals the way, the truth, and the life. It is Christianity, realized in the presence and operations of the Holy Spirit, which gives that divine peace which nature perceives to be necessary, but which God alone can impart. The quietude which was ascribed to Fenelon was that inward rest which the Saviour calls *peace*; and of which it is declared there is no peace to the wicked. It was that state of mind which the Saviour not only denominates peace, but which he describes as *my peace*, in other words *Christ's peace*, "the peace of God which passes understanding," that supported the archbishop of Cambray, in the trials he endured, and in the duties of humanity and religion which he was called to discharge.

"He dismissed, as fast as they arose," says an anonymous writer, "all useless ideas and disquieting desires, to the end

that he might preserve his soul pure and in peace ; taken up with God, detached from every thing not divine. This brought him to such a simplicity as to be far from valuing himself for his natural talents, accounting all but dross, *that he might win Christ, and be found in him.*" *

13. He loved to contemplate Christ in his childhood and youth, as conveying to his mind a more distinct idea of that meekness and simplicity of spirit which was so marked a trait in the Saviour's character.

Among his beautiful religious meditations we find the following, which shows his feelings in this respect : —

"I adore thee, O infant Jesus! naked, weeping, and lying in the manger. Thy childhood and poverty are become my delight. Oh that I could be thus poor, thus a child, like thee! O Eternal Wisdom! reduced to the condition of a little babe, take from me the vanity and presumptuousness of human wisdom. Make me a child with thee. Be silent, ye teachers and sages of the earth! I wish to know nothing but to be resigned, to be willing to suffer, to lose and forsake all, *to be all faith.* The WORD *made flesh!* Now silent, now he has an imperfect utterance, now weeps as a child. And shall I set up for being wise? Shall I take a complacency in my own schemes and systems? Shall I be afraid, lest the world should not have an opinion high enough of my capacity. No, no ; — all my pleasure shall be to *decrease*, to become little and obscure, to live in silence, to bear the reproach of Jesus crucified, *and to add thereto the helplessness and imperfect utterance of Jesus a child.*"

14. "To die to all his own abilities," says the writer to whom we have just now referred, "must have been a thing more painful to him than another. He understood thorough-

* Anonymous, but supposed to be Digby Brooke, the author of the English translation of the Life of Madame Guyon.

ly the principles of almost all the liberal sciences. He had studied the ancients of all kinds, poets, orators, and philosophers. He was well acquainted both with their faults and with their beauties. Yet he rejected that pompous erudition which so powerfully tends to swell the mind with pride. He thought it his duty to renounce all the false riches of the mind, and to be wise with sobriety. This is what those learned men and teachers, who are always contending about frivolous questions, will never be able to comprehend."

15. It was one characteristic of this remarkable and deeply pious man, that he bore the passions and faults of others with the greatest equanimity. This is an unostentatious but an important grace. He was faithful, without ceasing to be patient. Believing that the providence of God attaches to times as well as to things, and that there is a time for reproof as well as for every thing else, a time which may properly be denominated *God's time*, he waited calmly for the proper moment of speaking. Thus keeping his own spirit in harmony with God, he was enabled to administer reproof and to utter the most unpleasant truths without a betrayal of himself, and without giving offence to others.

"It is often," he said, "*our own imperfection which makes us reprove the imperfections of others*;—a sharp-sighted self-love of our own, which cannot pardon the self-love of others. The passions of other men seem insupportable to him who is governed by his own. Divine charity makes great allowances for the weaknesses of others, bears with them, and treats them with gentleness and condescension. It is never over-hasty in its proceeding. The less we have of self-love, the more easily we accommodate ourselves to the imperfections of others, in order to cure them patiently, when the right season arrives for it. Imperfect virtue is apt to be sour, severe, and implacable. Perfect virtue is

meek, affable, and compassionate. It thinks of nothing but doing good, bearing others' burdens. It is this principle of disinterestedness with regard to ourselves, and of compassion for others, which is the true bond of society."

16. It was a natural result of his principles, that he inculcated and practised *religious toleration*. Without being indifferent to the principles and forms of religion, he had a deep conviction, that the appropriate weapon of religion, in its defence and in its extension, is that of *love*. A man's belief is, and ought to be, sacred. We may try to correct it by kind argument; but in every act beyond that, we violate the laws of the mind, as well as the claims of morals, and act without authority. Such were the views of Fenelon; which he inculcated at a time, and under circumstances, which showed the firmness of his purpose as well as the benevolence of his heart.

We have already had occasion to notice, that, when he was appointed a missionary among the Protestants of Poitou, he accepted this difficult and delicate office, only on the condition that the king should remove all the troops, and all appearance of military coercion, from those places to which he was to be sent in the exercise of a ministry of peace and love. In the latter period of his life, in the year 1709, he was visited by a young prince at the episcopal residence. In the conversations which passed between them, the archbishop recommended to him, very emphatically, never to *compel* his subjects to change their religion. "Liberty of thought," said he, "is an impregnable fortress, which no human power can force. Violence can never convince; it only makes hypocrites. When kings take it upon them to direct in matters of religion, instead of protecting it, they bring it into bondage. You ought, therefore, to grant to all a legal toleration; not as approving every thing indifferently, but as suffering with patience *what God suffers*; endeavor-

ing in a proper manner to restore such as are misled, but never by any measures but those of gentle and benevolent persuasion."

17. Fenelon had many friends who were affectionately attached to him, in Versailles, Paris, and other parts of France; but after the time of his banishment, which continued during the remainder of his life, he saw them but very seldom. Many of them were persons of eminent piety. A permanent separation from such men was a source of affliction; but such were his habits of mind, which saw God in all things and all things in God, that he alleviated his sorrow by communing with them in spirit.

"Let us all dwell," he says in one of his letters, "in our only CENTRE, where we continually meet, and are all one and the same thing. We are very near, though we see not one another; whereas others, who even live in the same house, yet live at a great distance. God reunites all, and brings together the remotest points of distance in the hearts that are united to him. I am for nothing but unity; that unity which binds all the parts to the centre. That which is not in unity is in separation; and separation implies a plurality of interests, *self* in each too much fondled. When self is destroyed, the soul reunites in God; and those who are united in God are not far from each other. This is the consolation which I have in your absence, and which enables me to bear this affliction patiently, however long it may continue."

18. The union of the soul in God, followed by the union of all worldly concerns and interests, was the subject of frequent contemplation and remark. "Oh! what a beautiful sight," he said frequently, "to see all kinds of goods in common, nobody looking on his own knowledge, virtues, joys, riches, as his peculiar property! It is thus, that the saints in heaven possess *every thing in God*, without having *any*

thing of their own. It is the flux and reflux of an infinite ocean of good, common to all, which satiates their desires, and completes their happiness. Perfectly poor in themselves, they are perfectly rich and happy in God, who is the true source of riches. If this poverty of spirit, which, in depriving us of self, fills us with love, prevailed here below as it should do, we should hear no more those cold words of *mine* and *thine*. Being one in the abandonment of self and one in harmony with God, we should be all at the same time rich and poor in unity."

19. After Fenelon left Versailles, he never had the opportunity of seeing his beloved pupil, the duke of Burgundy; and it was a number of years before they had the means even of corresponding with each other by letter. But the duke, for whom he had labored so earnestly in personal efforts, and for whose benefit he had written his delightful Fables, his Dialogues, and the great and popular work entitled *Telema- chus*, never forgot him. And Fenelon, on his part, never ceased to counsel and encourage.

"Offspring of Saint Louis!" he says, in one of his letters written a short time before the lamented death of the prince, "be like him, mild, humane, easy of access, affable, compassionate, and liberal. Let your grandeur never hinder you from condescending to the lowest of your subjects, — yet in such a manner that this goodness may never weaken your authority, nor lessen their respect. Suffer not yourself to be beset by insinuating flatterers; but value the presence and advice of men of virtuous principles. True virtue is often modest and retired. Princes have need of her, and therefore ought to seek her out. Place no confidence in any but those who have the courage to contradict you with respect, and who love your prosperity and reputation better than your favor. Make yourself to be loved by the good, feared by the bad, and esteemed by all. Hasten to reform

yourself, that you may labor with success in the reformation of others."

20. The effect of the correspondence of Fenelon with the duke of Burgundy may be seen, among other evidences which he gave, from the import of the following letter:—

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY.

"My dear Archbishop,

"I will endeavor to make use of the advice you give me. I ask an interest in your prayers, that God will give me his grace so to do. Desire of God more and more, that he will grant me the love of himself above all things else; and that I may love my friends and love my enemies IN him and FOR him. In the situation in which I am placed, I am obliged to listen to many remarks, and sometimes to those which are unfavorable. When I am rebuked for taking a course which I know to be a right one, I am not disquieted by it. When I am made to see, that I have done wrong, I readily blame myself. And I am enabled sincerely to pardon all, and to pray for all, who wish me ill or who do me ill.

"I do not hesitate to admit that I have faults; but I can also add, that I have a fixed determination, whatever may be my failings, to give myself to God. Pray to him without ceasing, that he will be pleased to finish in me what he has already begun, and to destroy in me those evils which proceed from my fallen nature. — In respect to yourself, you may be assured that my friendship is always the same."

21. Fenelon died in 1715, at the age of 65. His work was accomplished. It was found after his death, that he was without property and without debts. United with Christ, he had no fear. As he had the spirit, so he delighted in the language, of the Saviour. His dying words were, "THY WILL BE DONE." And thus he met God in peace.

There is, perhaps, not another man in modern times, whose character has so perfectly harmonized in its favor all creeds, nations, and parties. His religion expanded his heart to the limits of the world. It was natural, therefore, that the whole human race should love his memory. In the time of the French revolution, when the chains which had been fastened by the tyranny of ages, were rent asunder by infuriated men, who, in freeing themselves from outward tyranny, forgot to free themselves from the domination of their own passions, the ashes of the good and great of other days, in the forgetfulness of all just distinctions, were scattered by them to the four winds of heaven. But they wept over and spared the dust of Fenelon.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the influence of Madame Guyon upon Fenelon. Remarks upon woman's influence. Madame Guyon transferred from the prison of Vincennes to that of Vaugirard. Her religious efforts there. Interference of the archbishop of Paris. Feelings of the king towards Madame Guyon. His treatment of some members of the Seminary of St. Cyr. He removes a son of Madame Guyon from his office of lieutenant in the king's guards. Proceedings of Godefray Marais, bishop of Chartres. Feelings of Madame Guyon in relation to Fenelon. Visited in prison by the archbishop of Paris, who reads to her a letter from La Combe. Her feelings. A Poem.

THE natural traits of Fenelon were remarkable in themselves, and still more remarkable in the beauty of their combination. Religion added to the attractions of his character. At an early period of his life, he was a religious man;—religious in the ordinary sense of the terms, and with a reference to the common standard.

But who pointed him to a higher inward life and brighter hopes, than had previously come within the scope either of his knowledge or his expectations? And when he had set out upon this new way, the way of victory because it was the way of holiness, who aided him, at every step of his progress, in giving clearness to his vision and strength to his doubting purposes? Whose example was it, consecrated by tears and illustrated by labors, in the domestic circle and in the more public sphere, at home and abroad, in freedom

and in prison, that attracted his notice, excited his holy desires, and strengthened his hopes?

It is impossible, with any suitable regard to truth and justice, to separate the influence of the instructions, of the exhortations and prayers, and of the personal life and example of Madame Guyon from the renovated nature, the benevolent labors, and the sublime faith of Fenelon.

2. And if any female should think these pages worthy of her perusal, let her gather the lesson from these statements, which truth and justice compel us to make, that woman's influence does not terminate, as is sometimes supposed, with the moulding and the guidance of the minds of children. We repeat here, what we have already had occasion to intimate in another place, that her task is not finished, when she sends abroad those whom she has borne and nurtured in her bosom, on their pilgrimage of action and duty in the wide world. Far from it. Man is neither safe in himself, nor profitable to others, when he lives dissociated from that benign influence which is to be found in woman's presence and character; — an influence which is needed in the projects and toils of mature life, in the temptations and trials to which that period is especially exposed, and in the weakness and sufferings of age, hardly less than in childhood and youth.

But it is not woman, gay, frivolous, and unbelieving, it is not woman separated from those divine teachings which make all hearts wise, that can lay claim to the exercise of such an influence. But when she adds to the traits of sympathy, forbearance, and warm affection, which characterize her, the strength and wisdom of a well-cultivated intellect, and the still higher attributes of religious faith and holy love, it is not easy to limit the good she may do, in all situations and in all periods of life.

3. To the last moment of his life, Fenelon bore the most decided testimony to the virtues of Madame Guyon; while

his own personal history and doctrines were conclusive evidence of the influence she had exerted. When the controversy between Fenelon and Bossuet commenced, Madame Guyon was a prisoner in the castle of Vincennes. And, as we here complete our narrative so far as it has relation to Fenelon, we naturally return to her again, to terminate, in a few pages more, the story of her remarkable life.

At this time, as well as at all previous times, from the period in which she gave herself wholly to God, she was calm and patient. The walls which enclosed her had no terrors to a heart that recognized the presence of God as distinctly in sorrow as in joy. Not that her feeble constitution did not suffer, or that she did not feel deeply her separation from her friends, but she had inward supports, which enabled her to rise above such sufferings; and with Paul and Silas she sang songs in prison.

4. Madame Guyon was imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes on the 31st of December, 1695. She remained in this prison about nine months. Her imprisonment seems to have been severe. She was allowed the company of the pious maid-servant who had so long attended her, and who was her daughter in the gospel; but she was not permitted, except under great restrictions, to see her relatives and other friends, or to correspond with them. She wrote many of her poems here, and added some passages to her autobiography. Whether it was because her physical system would not bear such close and long-continued confinement, or whether those who were the principal agents in restraining her, were touched with some degree of pity, we do not know. We know the fact, however, that after the expiration of nearly a year, she was removed from Vincennes, and imprisoned at Vaugirard, a village in the immediate neighborhood of Paris. Some circumstances lead to the conclusion, that she went to her new place of imprisonment on the

28th of August, 1696. She did not go before ; and might not have gone until a short time after. Her pious maid-servant, who had been a great consolation to her, was detained for a longer period at Vincennes.

5. At the prison of Vaugirard, from which she was subsequently transferred to the Bastille, she remained till September, 1698, a little more than two years. Her prison at Vaugirard seems to have been a place of confinement connected with a monastery at that village. It was understood by her, when she went there, that she would have a little more liberty than was allowed her at Vincennes. And with this understanding, her strong desire to benefit souls returned. She saw her friends more frequently than she had recently done ; she corresponded with them, and endeavored to inspire the true life of faith in the sisters of the monastery, whenever she had opportunity to speak to them. There was every appearance that the same spiritual results would follow her labors here as elsewhere.

6. The archbishop of Paris, at whose suggestion and request she had been transferred to Vaugirard, became alarmed. He knew the feelings of the king ; and that it was indispensable, if she continued to remain there, that these things should stop. Accordingly she was reduced to the painful necessity of signing a paper, in which she agreed expressly to cease from such labors. The paper is dated the 9th of October, 1696. In this paper she promises to place herself, in the particulars specified, under the watch and direction of the curate of the seminary of St. Sulpitius ; and, without his express permission, to receive no visits, hold no conversations, and write no letters.

To one who had the feelings of Madame Guyon, whose life it was to do good, such a prohibition must have been exceedingly painful. But, as she was entirely in the power of those who thought it proper to impose these restraints,

she could not well do otherwise than submit to them. Any other course would have merely resulted in subjecting her again to the severer imprisonment of Vincennes, without giving her any greater religious privilege. Her only resource now was prayer.

7. This state of things will be the better understood, when we keep in mind the feelings of the king. It is remarkable, that a man whose mind was occupied with plans of vast extent, such as perhaps no French monarch before him had entertained, should enter into a contest, which may well be called a personal contest, with an unprotected woman. But so it was.

After the remarkable attention to religion in the Female Seminary of St. Cyr, already mentioned in another place, which was attributed to the influence of Madame Guyon, and which was supposed to be conducted on principles allied to those of Protestantism, Louis, who was greatly offended, not only insisted on the exclusion of Madame Guyon, but came to St. Cyr personally, instituted an examination into the state of things himself, and removed from the seminary three of the most pious ladies connected with it. The only reason assigned was their sympathy with the new doctrine of an inward and purified life sustained by faith. So that, like Fenelon, she was obliged to suffer, not only in her own person, but in the person of her friends also.

8. For this treatment of the ladies of St. Cyr, the king might perhaps have alleged a reason apparently satisfactory, founded in his zeal for the church and his opposition to all forms of heresy. But such a reason could not well be alleged for his treatment of a son of Madame Guyon. Her second son, a young man of promise, had been appointed a year or two previous a lieutenant in the king's guards. Nothing was alleged against his character or conduct; but such was the king's hostility to Madame Guyon, and his determination to crush her the more effectually by crushing all

who were connected with her, that he unceremoniously removed her son from the public service.

9. The zeal of the king, when it was fully understood what his views and wishes were, was seconded by the prompt and effective coöperation of a number of the bishops. This was particularly the case with Godet Marais, bishop of Chartres, within the limits of whose diocese St. Cyr was situated. As the alleged heresy had made its appearance in a seminary for whose religious character and interests he felt especially responsible, he issued, as the head and spiritual father of his diocese, an ecclesiastical ordinance, in which he condemned the writings of Madame Guyon, as *false, rash, impious, heretical, and tending to renew the errors of Luther and Calvin.*

Not satisfied with this, he instituted personally a minute examination of all the rooms and private apartments of the seminary of St. Cyr, and took away all the writings of Madame Guyon which he found there; and among other things some manuscripts and letters of Fenelon. Madame Maisonfort, a pious and highly educated lady, who had the immediate charge of the seminary, remonstrated against such violent and unjust proceedings, but without effect.*

10. These transactions, and others like them, took place, at different times and under different circumstances, from 1695 to 1698. They added to the sorrows of Madame Guyon's imprisonment; but did not lead her to doubt for a moment of the goodness and truth of God. Both at Vincennes and at Vaugirard, she kept herself informed, to a considerable extent, of the progress of events. But there was nothing which touched her feelings so deeply as the trials of Fenelon. She had been the instrument, in the

* Relation de l'Origine, du Progrès, et de la Condemnation du Quétisme, p. 155—7.

hands of Providence, of bringing to his notice the great doctrine of present and entire holiness ; — a doctrine realized in the form of pure or perfect love, and resting upon faith as its basis. With the greatest earnestness and perseverance, she had watched for him and prayed for him ; had warned and entreated him. She had the happiness of seeing her labors and prayers answered. God, in the person of the Holy Ghost, had descended and taken possession of the mind so dear to her ; — so that he had become one with God, and in God had become one with herself. Appreciating also his great learning, his powers of reasoning and imagination, and his cultivated taste, she naturally indulged the hope, that he might illustrate and successfully propagate those religious views which, in common with some of the most devoted persons in all ages of the church, she regarded so important.

But darkness had gathered upon the prospect, which would otherwise have been so cheering. When the secular arm had united with the religious, and kings were in alliance with bishops, there seemed but little hope. When she thought of these things, as she sat alone in her solitary cell, tears sometimes filled that bright eye which the lapse of half a century had not yet made dim.

11. It was under these circumstances, when she had been at Vaugirard nearly two years, the doors of her prison suddenly opened. Her old acquaintance, Monsieur de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, accompanied by Monsieur Lachetardie, the curate of the seminary of St. Sulpitius, presented himself before her. With a seriousness of air, which seemed to him to be warranted by the occasion, the archbishop informed her of the reasons of his coming. He held in his hand a letter, and read it. It purported to be from Father La Combe, addressed to Madame Guyon ; in which La Combe, without naming them, referred distinctly to irregularities

into which they had both fallen, and exhorted her to repent. The letter was no sooner read, than the archbishop and the curate, unfavorably impressed by insinuations which seemed to imply guilt, conjured her, in the most earnest and solemn manner, to do homage to truth, and to merit forgiveness by a sincere confession of her faults.

But, worn down as she was by the sorrows of her imprisonment, her offended innocence gave her strength to reply. She said, however, but a few words. And it was simply this. The letter which had been read to her, which she was not permitted to see, was either a forgery; or Father La Combe, worn out by the severity of his long imprisonment, had entirely lost his powers of perception and memory, and had written it, without knowing what he wrote, at the instigation of another. Further than this, she did not think it her duty to notice this accusation. Her perfect self-possession, her serious and unaffected air of innocence, the conviction which suddenly flashed upon their own minds, that an attempt had been made to destroy the most devoted and virtuous of women by the foulest of means, compelled them to leave her prison with a shame to themselves, hardly less than the sorrow which they brought to her.

12. The secret history of this atrocious movement is not well known. The long banishment and imprisonments which La Combe had suffered, as an advocate of the doctrines of Madame Guyon, had affected both his mental and physical system. So obviously was this the case, that those who had the charge of him thought it necessary to transfer him from the place of his imprisonment, in a distant part of France, to the public hospital for sick and lunatic persons established in the village of Charenton, a few miles from Paris. On his way there, he was lodged a few days in the castle of Vincennes; where the paper to which we have referred was prepared, and his signature was obtained.

Shortly after his arrival at Charenton, he died ; but it was satisfactorily ascertained, that at the time of his death, and for some time before, he had not sufficient power of perception and reasoning to know what he did, and to render him accountable for his acts. These circumstances were not known to the archbishop of Paris, when the paper, which he was requested to convey to Madame Guyon, was put into his hands.

13. The historians of the life of Fenelon agree in asserting, that this ungenerous and wicked attempt was aimed as much and perhaps still more at Fenelon, than at Madame Guyon. The enemies of Fenelon were astonished at the powers of argument and of eloquence which he displayed in his controversy with Bossuet. They saw themselves on the point of being defeated ; and, as Fenelon never denied his acquaintance with Madame Guyon and his sincere respect and friendship for her, they seemed to have but one way left to them, that of destroying his reputation and throwing doubt upon his morals, by first destroying hers. If there had been any thing wrong between Madame Guyon and La Combe, "it was expected," says Butler, "that the ascertainment of the fact would indirectly operate to the detriment of Fenelon, by exposing his connection with her to a like suspicion." The attempt did not succeed ; but originating in the deepest depravity, and aimed as she knew it to be at Fenelon as well as herself, it could not fail to inflict a deep wound upon her already afflicted spirit.

14. Her poems, the greater part of which were written in her imprisonments, have frequent allusions to the trials which she was thus called to endure, and to the faith which sustained her. The following stanzas, without being a translation of any one poem, embody sentiments which are found in many : —

THE LIGHT ABOVE US.

THERE is a light in yonder skies,
A light unseen by outward eyes ; —
But clear and bright to inward sense,
It shines, the star of Providence.

The radiance of the central throne,
It comes from God, and God alone ; —
The ray that never yet grew pale,
The star that “shines within the veil.”

And faith, uncheck'd by earthly fears,
Shall lift its eye, though fill'd with tears,
And while around 'tis dark as night,
Untired, shall mark that heavenly light.

In vain they smite me. Men but do
What God permits with different view ; —
To outward sight they wield the rod,
But faith proclaims it all of God.

Unmoved, then, let me keep my way ;
Supported by that cheering ray
Which, shining distant, renders clear
The clouds and darkness thronging near.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1698. *Transferred from Vaugirard to the Bastille. Some account of the Bastille. Extract from a letter of Madame Guyon. Man of the iron mask. Madame Guyon's maid-servant imprisoned in the Bastille. Her personal history. Her religious character. Her letters. Her death. Situation of Madame Guyon. The religious support which she experienced.*

THE failure of the attempt to ruin the character of Madame Guyon, and in her ruin to involve that of Fenelon, seems to have exasperated her enemies more and more. They showed their dissatisfaction by obtaining an order from the king, which required her to be transferred from her prison at Vaugirard to one of the towers of the Bastille. She became a prisoner in that abode of wretchedness in September, 1698.

2. The prison of the Bastille, in which Madame Guyon was now incarcerated, has become historical. It has been demolished, it is true; but, while an interest in the history of the human race remains, it will not cease to be remembered. The Bastille, the erection of which began in the year 1370, was composed of high and large towers, united together by thick walls enclosing two large courts which were separated from each other by other walls intervening; the whole being enclosed by a deep and wide ditch. At the base of all the towers were dungeons. Each tower,

GROUND PLAN OF THE BASTILLE



A. Avenue from St. Anthony's Street.— B. Entrance, and first drawbridge.— C. The Governor's house.— D. First court.— E. Avenue leading to the gate of the fortress.— F. Drawbridge and gates of the fortress.— G. Guard houses.— H. The great court within the towers.— I. Staircase leading to the Council Chamber.— K. Council Chamber.— L. Court du Puits, or Well Court.— M. Way to the garden.— N. Steps leading into the garden.— O. Garden.— P. The moat of the fortress.— Q. Passage to the Arsenal garden.— R. A Wooden road round the walls for the night patrol.— 1. Tower du Puits — 2. Tower de la Liberté — 3. Tower de la Bertaudière.— 4. Tower de la Bazinière.— 5. Tower de la Comite — 6. Tower du Trésor.— 7. Tower de la Chapelle.— 8. Tower du Coin.

eighty feet in height above the dungeon, consisted of four stories. The dungeons were below the level of the ground; some of them admitted a little light; others were perfectly dark. There was no stove or fire-place in any of them. It was in these dreadful abodes, that the two princes of Armagnac were immured by the orders of Louis Eleventh; one of whom, overcome by the weight of wretchedness and despair, lost his reason; the other, set at liberty upon a change of the government, published an account of his sufferings.

Above the dungeons rose successively four apartments, each occupying a single story. These apartments, all of which were prisons, were in the form of irregular polygons; eighteen feet across the floor and eighteen feet high; excepting the apartment of the upper story, which was a little smaller. The walls were twelve feet thick at the highest part of the tower, and they increased in thickness as they approached the bottom. The doors of the prisons in the towers were of oak and double; each three inches in thickness. Each of the prisons above the dungeon had one window, which was secured, on the outside, by an iron grate of prodigious strength. The chimneys also were secured by iron grates, crossing the vent at proper distances. The floors were laid with stone or tiles.

3. Each tower had its name, and each apartment had its number; so that it was not necessary to say who the prisoners were when orders were given in respect to them, or when they happened to be the subjects of conversation; but only to mention them in the language of the place, as No. ONE, in the tower *du Tresor*, No. TWO, in the tower *de la Comtè*, and so on. Most of the apartments had the same kind of furniture, both as to the number of articles and their quality. It usually consisted of a bed, a table, a chair, a basin, and a large earthen pitcher for holding water, a brass candlestick, a broom, and a tinder-box.

4. When the prisoners entered these dreadful abodes, their names were entered in a register, with the dates of their arrival, and with the specification of the towers and the numbers of the towers, to which they were assigned. They were then subjected to a strict search; and every thing was taken from them, except such clothing as was absolutely necessary. The large and stony apartments, in which they were enclosed, if they were so much favored as to escape an incarceration in the dungeons, were exceedingly cold in winter; and, as they were not capable of ventilation, the prisoners suffered no less from the unpleasant heats of summer; a grievance which was increased by the steams issuing from the water that putrified in the ditch below. Iron cages, and other instruments of torture, were kept in reserve for those who were refractory.

5. It was in one of these abodes of sorrow that Madame Guyon was shut up. Four years she remained there; and, so far as any thing appears on the subject, in entire solitary confinement. It was thought necessary, by those who knew her influence and thought it unfavorable, that twelve feet of thick wall, built up on every side, should guard her against making any further exertions in the cause of Christ. Shut out from the world, from her friends, from the pleasant light of the sun, she had nothing to do but to bow in the silence and acquiescence of religious trust. Deprived of the privilege of seeing her friends personally, she was not even allowed to write to them. But the evidence of her whole life shows what her feelings must have been; and that her faith did not cease to be triumphant, even in this aggravated trial. In one of her letters, written just before her removal to the Bastille and in anticipation of her imprisonment there, which she naturally regarded as a precursor of still harsher treatment, she says: — “I feel no anxiety in view of what my enemies will do to me. I have no fear of any thing but

of *being left to myself*. So long as God is with me, neither imprisonment nor death will have any terrors. Fear not. If they should proceed to extremities, and should put me to death, *Come and see me die*. Do as Mary Magdalen did, who never left Him that taught her the science of PURE LOVE."

6. In noticing the date of Madame Guyon's imprisonment, I could not help being reminded, that but a few feet from her, perhaps in the next dungeon, was the celebrated prisoner who is known in history as the Man of the Iron Mask. A very few persons knew who he was. To them the knowledge was limited; and the secret has died with them. The common supposition is, that he was a twin brother of Louis Fourteenth; and that, in order to prevent his putting forth pretensions and claims to the throne, he was shut out from all intercourse with men, and even from all knowledge of himself. For the purpose of entire concealment he wore a mask, of which the lower part had steel springs, contrived so that he could eat without taking it off.

An old physician of the Bastille, who had often attended this remarkable man in his seasons of ill health, declared that he had never been allowed to see his face, though he had often examined his tongue and other parts of his person. When Madame Guyon was shut up in the Bastille, the man of the iron mask, though born to the inheritance of all the joys and honors which earth can give, had been a solitary prisoner thirty-seven years. Probably he did not know his own history; he had scarcely been allowed to see any human being from infancy; he lived in the most cruel exclusion from all that makes life desirable, shut out from nature, from knowledge, and from man.

7. The question naturally arises, Was he excluded from religious knowledge, as well as from a knowledge of almost every thing else? Had he the consolations of religion? Did

he know of that peaceful home, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest? No one can tell. But we know this: — if the woman of faith and prayer, who was shut up within the same massive walls, had known his unparalleled situation, he would have had all that her purified and believing spirit could have given of warmest sympathy and of earnest supplication. As it was, without knowing who were the broken hearts around her, she never ceased to pray for the prisoner.

8. Madame Guyon was imprisoned in the Bastille in 1698. Afterwards, but still nearly at the same time, her maid-servant, who remained at Vincennes after she was transferred to Vaugirard, was also removed to the Bastille. Of this pious and devoted woman, to whom frequent reference is made in the writings and history of the subject of this memoir, I propose to say a few words in the remaining part of this chapter.

Madame Guyon became acquainted with her at Paris, at an early period of her widowhood. Laboring without cessation, wherever there was opportunity, she was the instrument, in the hands of God, of leading her, then a young girl, to the knowledge of Christ. And seeing in her the traits of good judgment and firmness of purpose, she employed her as a domestic in her family.

9. When she left Paris for the purpose of prosecuting her labors in the distant parts of France and in Savoy, she took this maid-servant with her. It is a proof of the degree to which she secured the confidence of her mistress, that Madame Guyon entrusted to her special and almost exclusive care her surviving daughter, Marie Jeanne Guyon; — who became afterwards, by marriage, the countess of Vaux.*

* Marie Jeanne Guyon, second daughter of Madame Guyon, was first married to Louis Nicolas Fouquet, son of Fouquet, the celebrated inten-

She was with Madame Guyon at Gex, at Thonon, and Grenoble.

10. When her mistress, in the prosecution of the benevolent labors to which she had devoted herself, left Grenoble for Italy, in the year 1686, she left her daughter behind in the care of this maid. On her return from Italy to Grenoble, and from Grenoble to Paris, her maid-servant came with her. When Madame Guyon was first imprisoned in the convent of St. Mary in Paris, they were designedly separated from each other. There is some reason to suppose, that the maid-servant was imprisoned at the same time in the castle of Vincennes. It is certain that she was imprisoned there twice. Afterwards we find them together, in a state of voluntary seclusion, in the convent of the Visitation at Meaux. When Madame Guyon returned from Meaux to Paris, and found it necessary to conceal herself for some months in an obscure house in the street of St. Anthony, this maid was with her. After being concealed for some time, as we have already had occasion to relate, she was discovered by the agents of the police from the circumstance, somewhat unusual, that all the persons going into the house were seen to enter it by means of private keys, and without knocking at the door.*

So closely were they united, and so deeply imbued was the maid with the principles of the mistress, that, when Madame Guyon was arrested and imprisoned at Vincennes, it was thought necessary that her maid-servant should be incarcerated with her. It was there that the mistress composed religious songs; her faithful domestic and attendant

dant of the finances. Being left a widow by the death of her husband, she afterwards married, on the 14th of Feb. 1719, Maximilian Henry de Bethune, duke of Sully.—See Bausset, I. 293.

* Relation du Quiétisme, &c., p. 154.

committed them to memory ; and they sang them together. They were separated, when Madame Guyon was transferred to the prison of Vaugirard. They were afterwards both sent to the Bastille.

11. It is not enough to say of this faithful woman, to whom Madame Guyon was so much indebted, that she was pious. Her piety, founded upon the principles of consecration and faith, was intelligent, whole-hearted, and persevering.

One of the remarkable things in her character, which is too much overlooked by Christians, was her appreciation of God's providence. In desiring to be what God would have her to be, and to be nothing more and nothing less, she included time and place, as well as disposition and action. She had not a doubt, that God, who had given remarkable powers to Madame Guyon, had called her to the great work in which she was employed. But knowing that her beloved mistress could not go alone, but must constantly have some female attendant, she had the conviction equally distinct, that she was called *to be her maid-servant*. Such were the relations existing between them, and such was their adaptedness to each other, she could not well avoid the conclusion, that this field of labor was the sphere of Providence to her ; and though, in a worldly point of view, it might not have had great attractions, she accepted it with cheerfulness, and filled it with fidelity. And he, who called her to this work, alone can tell how much the world is indebted to the prayers and to the humble but necessary labors of this pious servant.

12. She was a person of a strong understanding, as well as of a pious heart. Her letters show this. She took a strong hold of the truth ; and her purpose was fixed to maintain it. Nothing could turn her from what she believed to be the will of God. Threatenings and promises were employed to induce her to say something to the disadvantage

of Madame Guyon.* But her faith was not of that kind which can be bought with money. And while she was firm in her purpose, not to say any thing against her spiritual friend and mother, she seems to have been imprisoned chiefly for the purpose of preventing her from saying or doing any thing openly and publicly in her favor. It is at least difficult to divine any other adequate motive.

13. The religious principles she adopted, were those which are found in the writings of Madame Guyon; — justification by faith in distinction from justification by works; human accountability and power existing and exercised in conformity and in coöperation with divine grace; — the gradual but thorough sanctification of the heart through the agency of the Holy Ghost, made present and operative in the soul through faith; — and this sanctification showing itself in the form of disinterested or rather of unselfish love; — a love, in other words, which loves every thing that is lovely, as it ought to be loved, and not otherwise.

On these principles it seemed to her that the gospel exhibited itself not merely as a plan or scheme for escaping punishment, but as containing also the element of spiritual restoration and of inward life. She regarded the new life in Christ when perfected, the same as Christ's life, or God's life; and those who have experienced the inward spiritual renovation to the extent of pure or perfect love, as truly *one with God*. It was at this great object that she aimed.

14. She did not allow herself to spend time in estimating the comparative value of God and Mammon. God was all to her. She crucified and trampled under foot all that stood between her soul and the divine will. Ceasing to regard

* See A Dissertation on Pure Love by the Archbishop of Cambray together with an Apologetic Preface, &c. Dublin, 1739. p. 97.

earth as her place of residence, she could say in simplicity and truth of spirit, but without repining, —

“ Oh ! cease, my wandering soul,
On restless wing to roam ;
All this wide world, to either pole,
Has not for thee a home.”

Her imprisonment, therefore, as she looked forward to another and dearer abode, was less severe to her than it might have been to others. But it is very obvious, that this was owing to her state of mind, and not to any spirit of alleviation and kindness on the part of those who troubled her. After the departure of Madame Guyon for Vaugirard, she was in solitary confinement, the most trying situation possible. She was not only not allowed to see her friends, but not allowed to correspond with them. It is true, she found means to write a few letters ; but it was not owing to any kindness or permission on the part of those who kept her in prison.

15. The following letter to her brother, which is found in the French edition of the life of Madame Guyon, goes to confirm, I think, what has been said in relation to her consistent and well-established piety.

[Prison of Vincennes, —, 1697.]

“ My very dear Brother,

“ I do not know that I shall ever have the consolation of seeing you again. I should be glad to see you, and still more on your account than on my own. That is to say, I should be glad, if it were God’s will ; for I have no desires and no consolations separate from him. Whenever I am permitted to see you, I shall speak freely in relation to Madame Guyon. If I have hitherto been somewhat reserved

in regard to her, I can mention reasons for it which will satisfy you.

“I am sensible, my dear brother, of the good disposition of your heart; and well I know that you love me. I never can forget your great care and concern in relation to my welfare, when we were about to part from each other; and how much troubled you were in seeing me forsake the advantages the world held out.

“But God called me, and I was obliged to go. It was the will of my heavenly Father, that I should be separated from every thing that bound me down to earth. It was God who gave me strength to withstand the solicitations of a brother's love. If your house, my dear brother, had been made of precious stones, and if I could have been treated and honored in it as a queen, yet I should have forsaken all to follow God, who called me, not to pleasures, but to suffering. I had inward as well as outward crosses; but, gently and joyfully, I went on, following God. I prayed in myself, that I might be faithful to the cross.

“And now, my dear brother, if I had stopped and attempted to explain and to reason with you at that time, what would you have said? What would you have done? You would have said, I was very unwise, very foolish. With very good intentions on your part, you would have raised a multitude of objections, and have obstructed my greatest good. You would have stood in the way of what I cannot fail to regard as my greatest consolation, yea, my boundless joy, my sweet repose, *which is in all things to do the will of God*. I can truly say, that, standing in God's will, and doing and suffering his will, I have something which strengthens, animates, and encourages me; I am fed with a nourishment which the world cannot give. And, on the other hand, not to do God's will, when it is presented before me, is more dreadful to me than hell. If, when I

was called to leave my friends and home, and go with Madame Guyon, I had refused to do it, the grace of God would have been taken from me and given to another. And after such unfaithfulness and such loss, what could I have done? I should never have had repose or quiet of soul, which is to be found in God only.

“But I can talk and reason with you now, my dear brother, without fear. Your arguments and wishes can now have but little effect in placing an obstacle between myself and the sufferings to which God calls me. There is but little danger of my getting away from the prison of Vincennes, where I have been confined twice. I have been in prison this last time nearly three years. Whether I shall ever be released again in this life, I know not. Perhaps I shall have no other consolation in this life, than what I find in suffering.

“I am not allowed any materials for writing; nor is it an easy thing for written communications to pass in and out of my cell. Unexpectedly, however, I obtained some sheets of paper; and, using soot instead of ink, and a bit of stick instead of a pen, I have been enabled to write this. But I do it in the utmost hazard and jeopardy. It is my hope, that you will receive what I write, and that, with the divine blessing, it may one day be a means of comforting you in my imprisonment; for it seems to me that you have an hundred times more trouble and concern about it than I have. Not a day passes in which I do not thank God that he has imprisoned me here. I cannot forget the time when I laid myself upon his altar, to be his in joy and in sorrow; and I regard my imprisonment as a pleasing evidence, that he did not reject the sacrifice. In permitting me to suffer for him, he has done me a great favor.

“I feel for those who have afflicted and persecuted us. I indulge the hope, that God will, in time, open the eyes of

those among them who are upright, but have acted wrongly from false views. It is my desire especially, that they may be led to understand and appreciate the character of Madame Guyon; '*a precious stone*,' I may well call her, whose brightness has not been dimmed, but rather embellished, by their attempts to tarnish it. Having been with her twelve years, I think I know her character thoroughly. If it is a blessing to have her personal acquaintance, it is an honor also to share in her sufferings. Having been the constant witness of her devoted piety, I hope I have imbibed something of her spirit. It has seemed to me, that I have seen the divine nature manifested in her in a remarkable manner; and, wherever I discover the traces and footsteps of God, I make haste to follow.

"We are now separated from each other; I am in this prison alone, she in another place; but we are still united in spirit. The walls of a prison may confine the body; but they cannot hinder the union of souls. It is the love of Christ which unites us. It is in Christ, and for Christ's sake, that I love her, and that we love each other; and my love is continually increasing.

"Do not wonder, my dear brother, that I do not go into particulars. Is it not enough to say, that she was an instrument in the hands of God to bring me to a knowledge of himself, — that God whom I now love, and whom I shall love for ever? She taught me the great lesson of self-denial, of dying to the life of nature, and of living only to the will of God. I never can forget the diligence she used, the patience she exhibited, and the holy love which animated her in my behalf. So do not wonder that I love her. Yea, I love her because she loves the God whom I love; and it is with a love which is real, living, and operative. And this love has the power of uniting our hearts in a manner which I am unable to express; but it seems to me, that it is

the beginning of that union which we shall have in heaven, where the love of God will unite us all in him.

“With this discovery of my feelings, my dear brother, and hoping that you will now be at rest in the matters which have hitherto troubled you, I bid you adieu. ———.”

16. The following is another letter from the same pious maid-servant to an ecclesiastic.

“TO GOD BE ALL THE GLORY.”

“Reverend Father,

“I will endeavor to explain to you the sentiments of my heart in as few words as possible. That I suffer I do not deny; but it is a satisfaction to say, that I bear the cross *willingly*. I would rather die than be unwilling to bear it. Nothing could express my sorrow and wretchedness, if I should find in myself an impatient disposition. I bless the Lord that he has given me other sentiments. I feel that I am not only resigned to God, but entirely given up to him. Most tenderly do I love his holy will; and I shall not cease to love and adore it, whatever may be his dispensations towards me. And therefore do I esteem myself happy in being a prisoner for the Lord’s sake.

“It is true, that I hear the sighing and crying of outward nature; but let it complain. That inner nature which has its life from *faith*, pays no attention to it. So strong is my heart in the Lord, that I have ceased to trouble myself about any new cross. It seems as if I had become inured and hardened to trial. Is there any thing which I do not feel ready to suffer? I love the cross with a true love, because I see God in it, and it makes me more nearly acquainted with him.

“I am now separated from my beloved mistress, Madame Guyon. If it be the will of God, that I shall no more see

her on earth, I have no doubt that I shall see her in heaven. The power of man does not reach there. Even in this life, our separation from each other in person does not cause a separation in spirit. I love her as being made one with her in Christ ; — IN him and FOR him. So closely are we united, though separated in body, that, when I pray to God, she seems to be always present with me. Being one with Christ, I do not know how I could separate from her without separating myself from the Saviour. . Our union, therefore, shall never be broken ; neither in earth nor in heaven. It is an union of the cross upon earth, and an union of the possession of God in eternity. It is this hope which enlivens my soul.

“I think, Reverend Father, you would not regard me as expressing myself too strongly in relation to my love for Madame Guyon, if you knew what a blessing she has been to me. God made her the instrument of revealing himself to my heart. And I experienced her advice and aid in all that subsequent struggle, which was necessary in denying and subduing the life of nature, and bringing it into subjection. Under her instructions and prayers, the love of Christ grew so strongly within me, that it seemed to be written and engraven, as it were, upon my heart, in characters deep and never fading. And the more I love God, the more closely I find myself bound to her. Who, then, shall separate us ? Neither persecutions nor prisons, neither men nor devils, nor any thing else, shall separate us from the love of Christ ; — and what, then, shall separate us from each other ? It is always in the sweet and lovely heart of Jesus, where my life reposes, that I find her. O Saviour ! I lift up my heart and hands unto thee, and return thee thanks for uniting me to one who loves thee so tenderly and purely.

“I repeat again, that, in my imprisonment, nature suffers grievously ; but yet I would not be without suffering. It is

in the utmost sincerity I assert, that I have a secret fear of being without suffering. The *cross*, in the sense of suffering for Christ, is dear to me. I have espoused it with an inconceivable force and ardor, and would be faithful to it as long as I live. In the consecration, which I have made to God, I have reserved nothing. Both body and spirit are entirely his. Let him do with me whatever he pleases. I have no desire, no purpose, no will of my own, separate from the will of God. The continual prayer of my heart is, — *THY WILL BE DONE.*”

17. Such were the devout dispositions of this pious maid. If she had consented to say a word unfavorable to Madame Guyon, she would undoubtedly have been set at liberty, and perhaps rewarded. But although she was poor, and in prison, the world had not riches enough to seduce her principles and pervert her integrity. It was a saying of the Saviour, that the “poor have the gospel preached unto them.” And He who is the author of the gospel, and who has all hearts in his hands, knows full well, whoever else may be ignorant of it, that, among the neglected and forgotten, among the poor of this world, there have been, and there still are, those who are rich in faith; — those upon whose love, patience, and Christian integrity, angels in heaven look down with the deepest interest. If they are the world’s servants, they are the Lord’s children. Unknown among men, their names are written in the Lamb’s book of life. Without homes on earth, they have habitations appointed for them in the skies.

18. The confinement of Madame Guyon, in the Bastille, is briefly alluded to in the *Memoirs of Dangeau*. He writes from Versailles, “Nothing is talked of here,” he says, “but the bishop of Meaux’s last publication against the archbishop of Cambray, in which the whole doctrine of Madame Guyon is exposed. This lady is in the Bastille, where Monsieur

de la Reine [chief of the police of Paris] has already interrogated her several times by order of the king. She is said to defend herself with great ability and firmness."

A singular incident occurred at this time. Madame Guyon had not been long in the Bastille before the report was circulated, that she was dead. The report arose under peculiar circumstances, and passed for a time uncontradicted. It reached the ears of Fenelon;—and at a time when her enemies had not ceased to make efforts to destroy her character. He supposed it to be true, that she had done with the things of this world. All the personal motives, which had rendered him anxious to sustain her, had ceased. And at that late hour, if he had renounced her and her writings, he might have been restored to the favor of Louis Fourteenth, and to the possession of all that the world can give. But he could not cease to do homage to the truth. He took the opportunity of the announcement of her death, to bear the most decided testimony to her virtues. And, in doing it, he added, with a full perception of his own situation, "*It would be infamous weakness in me to speak doubtfully in relation to her character, in order to free myself from oppression.*"*

19. The report was unfounded. It was the maid-servant, and not the mistress, who had gone to her reward. And so long had they labored and suffered together, and so closely were they associated in men's minds, that it is not surprising that what was true of one should be attributed to the other. Under what circumstances this pious servant and faithful attendant and companion of Madame Guyon died, we know not. We can only assert with confidence, without receiving it from human lips, that when her dying head reposed upon the tattered couch or upon the stony floor of her prison, she did not repent that she gave up all for Christ.

* Bausset's Life of Fenelon, vol. i. p. 255.

20. In what way Madame Guyon sustained the long years of her imprisonment in the Bastille, by what physical appliances and occupations, we have now no means of ascertaining. Her situation then, and afterwards, was such as to compel her to silence. Every prisoner who entered the Bastille was obliged to take an oath, by which he bound himself to maintain an inviolable secrecy with respect to all that he had seen or heard there. If, at any subsequent period of her life, she had made known the particulars of her suffering there, and especially if she had made any complaint, it would only have resulted in her being subjected to the same sufferings again.*

But certainly it is not difficult to conjecture what she must have undergone. It is well understood, I suppose, that there are but few persons, however vigorous they may be in body or in mind, even of those who are supported by religion, that can sustain, for a great length of time, the dreadful ravages of solitary confinement.

21. In the few memorials that have escaped the terrible silence of the Bastille, it is affecting to notice the various resorts of suffering humanity to escape from its calamities. The prisoner looks upward, but he sees no sun ; he gazes at the straggling and dim light of his window, but it shows him no green fields and woods ; he listens and hears, or thinks he hears, a voice coming up from the streets below, which reminds him of a child or brother ; but, alas ! child and brother, and the hopes and happiness of home are no longer his. Sad and weeping he walks from side to side of his dark room ; till, finding his mind sinking under a sorrow which it is his duty to strive against, he resorts to any sort of occupation or amusement, however unsuitable it might be under other circumstances.

* Bausset's *Life of Fenelon*, vol. i. p. 255. See also Davenport's *History of the Bastille*.

“The histories of the Bastille,” says a writer, “are full of attempts to train spiders by supplying them with food, and to avert the horrors of reflection by ascertaining the dimensions of the room, or counting the studs upon the door. Some have spent whole days in pouring water from one dish into another ; or in disposing, in fanciful arrangements, the pieces of which their faggots were composed.”

22. If the stoutest men have sunk under these calamities, if their heads have become gray, and their hearts been broken, we may well suppose that it could be no other than a place of extreme trial and sorrow to a feeble and delicate woman. Her physical nature, it is hardly necessary to say, suffered as much as that of others. Those natural affections which bound her to her kindred and friends were equally strong, and equally liable to be wounded. She had a daughter and sons and many beloved friends, from whom she was entirely cut off. So that there can be no doubt that she suffered greatly both in person and in mind.

But her case differed from that of many others, inasmuch as she had the supports of religion. God was with her ; and she felt that all was well so long as she had the divine favor.

23. In a single passage of her Autobiography, she refers to this subject. “I, being in the Bastille,” she says, “said to thee, O my God ! if thou art pleased to render me a spectacle to men and angels, thy holy will be done ! All that I ask is, that thou wilt be with and save those who love thee ; — so that neither life nor death, neither principalities nor powers, may ever separate them from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ. As for me, what matters it what men think of me, or what they make me suffer, since they cannot separate me from that Saviour whose name is engraven in the very bottom of my heart ? If I can only be accepted of him, I am willing that all men should despise

and hate me. Their strokes will polish what may be defective in me, so that I may be presented in peace to him, for whom I die daily. Without his favor I am wretched. O Saviour! I present myself before thee an offering, a sacrifice. Purify me in thy blood, that I may be accepted of thee."

24. If it was dangerous for her to make complaints, and if the requisitions of the Bastille, sanctioned by an oath, forbade them, it is also true, that she had no disposition to do it. It was a part of her principles, and of her experience, to see all things in the light of God. Men, even *wicked* men, in the estimate which she took of things, were but the instruments of higher purposes. Men had imprisoned her; but they did not do it without God's permission. That which he permits, is as essential, in the fulfilment of his wise and glorious administration, as that which he does. This faith, although it did not prevent suffering, stopped all complaint. And sometimes it so opened the fountains of joy, that here, as at Vincennes, the stones of her prison looked like rubies in her sight. Here, too, she composed songs and sung them; but the voice of her pious maid-servant, which mingled with hers in her former imprisonment, was now silent. She mourned and rejoiced, she wept and sung *alone*.

CHAPTER XIX.

On the nature of pure love. The advocates of this doctrine called Quietists. Of those traits of religious character which seem to be connected with the origin of the name. Of the meekness and simplicity of spirit, which characterize the true Quietist. The Quietist in affliction. The Quietist in action. The Quietist when suffering injury. The Quietist in prayer. Of other religious traits which characterize him. Extracts from the writings of Molinos. Selections from the poems of Madame Guyon.

PURE love is a love purified from all selfishness. He whose love is pure, loves all things, so far as he knows their character, as he ought to love them. As pure love is a love which is not turned from its appropriate object by any selfish bias, but arises by its own law of origin under the natural power of that object, this is the natural result; namely, that he who has such love, loves *as he ought to love*. His love, moreover, like all other kinds of love, and like the love of all other beings, has its supreme centre. And if he loves as he ought to love, thus giving to every object what is its due, it is hardly necessary to add, that the supreme centre of his affection is, and must be, *God*.

2. It is true the time may come when he will love God more. That is to say, as he advances and expands in knowledge and in mental power, he will have more capacity of loving; and consequently will love more in *degree*. But if his love may be stronger at some future time, it will not

be purer; and as its increased exercise will be the result, exclusively, of its increased capacity, it will not render him more truly acceptable to God, who requires from us according to what we have, and not according to what we have not. And while he loves God supremely, he loves himself also. But he loves himself in subordination to, and in reference to the divine relation; namely, as one who has nothing in himself, but who regards all things as OF God, IN God, and FOR God. He loves himself, therefore, only as an object or being, in whom God may be glorified. And he loves his neighbor just as he loves himself. Such is pure love.

3. In the time of Madame Guyon and Fenelon, the advocates of the doctrine of Pure Love, that is to say, of a love purified from all selfishness, were frequently called *Quietists*. In the controversy between Bossuet and Fenelon, this name, as if it implied and conveyed some error and some reproach, was almost constantly applied to them. It was not a name of their own seeking; but, having been frequently applied, it became after a time a recognized designation. It had been previously applied to the Italian priest and reformer, Michael de Molinos, and to his followers.

4. I think we may properly make a distinction between those who were merely the speculative believers and advocates of the doctrine of PURE LOVE, and those who were really the possessors of the love implied in the doctrine, or at least possessors of it in a very high degree. The term Quietist belongs peculiarly to the latter class. And, taken in the proper and right sense, it undoubtedly indicates some leading and characteristic traits in their experience and lives. In approaching the termination of these memorials of Madame Guyon, and in taking leave of those who have been brought to our notice in them, it may be interesting to point out some of these traits.

5. There is no trait, which more distinctly and fully characterizes those who are the subjects of a truly purified and perfected love, than *meekness of spirit*. And it is in this trait especially, that we are to look for the origin of the name, to which our attention has been now directed. How can those be otherwise than calm and serene, as well as happy, who love God with all their heart and their neighbor as themselves? Regarding themselves as nothing, and loving God above all things, it is almost a matter of course that they are exempt from those personal pretensions and claims, which are the opposite of a meek and quiet spirit. It is impossible for them to have pure love without assured faith; and the same faith, which is the parent of love, is the parent of a childlike, humble, and acquiescent temper. The truly meek man is a peaceable, a tranquil man. In the loss of the life of nature, he has become the subject and the recipient of the life of God; and some portion of that sublime tranquillity, which belongs to the perfection of the divine existence, characterizes those who are fully born into his image.

6. The true Quietist is a man not only of meekness of spirit, but is a man of *simplicity* of spirit. In other words, he is a man of a single principle or motive of action. In the language of Scripture he has that "single eye," which makes the whole body full of light. Human passion, that is to say, *unsanctified* passion, has lost its power over him. His mind has assumed an unity of character, harmonious in itself and harmonious in its movement. This is the result of its supreme love to God, which, in subordinating and regulating every other love, reduces all principles of action and all motives into one. God in every thing, and God through Christ in himself, thus harmonizing himself not only with God, but with every thing which God does and is; — this is both his belief and position. So that, instead of being

many men in one through the diversity of self, he is one man in God through the unity of love.

7. It is the result of these views and of this position, that the Quietist, having undergone the purifying baptism of faith and love, is resigned and acquiescent in those circumstances and in that place, whatever it may be, which God in his providence has allotted him. If he is afflicted, he knows that it is good for him to suffer; and the tears which he sheds only give a new beauty to the peaceful serenity which shines through them. If he is poor, he is content to be without the earth's treasures, accounting himself rich in the possession of inward wealth with outward destitution. If, on the other hand, the Lord has made him rich in this world's goods, he sees distinctly that his riches are the gift of another; and, as the feelings of his heart harmonize with his perceptions, he is entirely content and happy, in renouncing all claims for himself, and in being merely the Lord's steward. He loves to be just where the Lord would have him to be. So that, whether we find him in wealth or in want, in prison or on the throne, in the presence of his own people and in the peace of his own family, or in the deprivations of exile, he is always *at home*. All things are made equal in God.

8. It might, perhaps, be supposed, from the import of the name upon which we are remarking, — a name obviously designed, in its application to Madame Guyon, and others before and after her, as a name of reproach, — that those who bore it failed in being faithful laborers in the cause they espoused. But it is hardly necessary to say, that the term itself does not necessarily indicate either action or want of action, but only a mode or character of action. But whatever may be true of the name, it would be a great error to suppose, that the man who is quiet, because his heart has perfect rest in God, is a man who fails to fulfil his duty.

The Quietist, in this respect at least, is not inactive. His rest of spirit would necessarily cease, if he neglected any action which duty imposed upon him. Nor is his action without influence. On the contrary, if he has power with God, as he evidently has in his private supplications, he has also power with men in his outward intercourse.

Perhaps there is no man, if we estimate him in the whole course of his life, who has more influence; but still, it is true, that the influence he exerts is of such a gentle and unobtrusive kind, that, in general, it does not excite much attention at the time of its exercise. But if, on the one hand, estimated in the light of human opinion, it fails in the attributes which would render it particularly remarkable and striking, on the other, it is not subject to variations, and to those many drawbacks which are the results of the working of a different form of experience.

There are some Christians, who, in particular emergencies, produce a great impression on the religious community, by their efforts;—all eyes are turned towards them;—they pass through the religious and moral hemisphere, like meteors in the sky of nature; throwing out a degree of light and heat, but scattering also at times a desolating fire; brilliant for a time, but not unfrequently soon expiring. But the class of persons of whom we are now speaking, more nearly resemble the sun; advancing silently and brightly in their position; sometimes hidden from our sight in clouds, but never jostled from their true line of movement. Every body notices the meteor; scarcely any one thinks of the sun.

9. It is in the true Quietist that we find the spirit of forgiveness exhibited in a remarkable degree. He loves his enemies. Unkind expressions are not heard upon his lips. This benevolent and forgiving spirit is the natural result of the holy love which animates him;—a love which is “gen-

tle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

And this is not all. Realizing the importance of having his own feelings constantly tried and purified, he has thus a powerful motive to receive with kindness, and to bear with patience, the evil looks and words of others. And here also, as in other cases, his assured and prevailing faith enables him to look above the creature, and to see the wisdom of God manifested, in constantly educing the sanctification of the Christian from the transgressions of the sinner. So distinct and powerful is this feeling, that, while he suffers in his own person, and cannot fail to look with compassion on those who treat him with unkindness, he is, at the same time, truly grateful that God so regards him as to make him suffer.

"If thou receivest an injury from any man," says Molinos, "remember that there are two things in it, viz. the sin of him who does it, and the suffering which is inflicted on thyself. The sin is against the will of God, and it greatly displeases him though he permits it. But the suffering, which thou art called to endure, is not in opposition to his will. But, on the contrary, he wills it for thy good. Wherefore, thou oughtest to receive it as from his hand." *

10. The Quietist, inspired by that pure love which he inculcates, does not strive for mastery. In the various situations in which he is placed, he seeks those things which make for peace. If he mourns over the ordinary dissensions of life, still more does he turn away from extreme violence and bloodshed. If all men were Quietists, wars would be no longer. He has learned from the great Teacher, whose life was the light of men, that love and violence, that the principles of the gospel, and strifes and wars, cannot

* Spiritual Guide, ch. 9.

go together. A heart burning with love cannot be restricted in its emotions by artificial and arbitrary limits. If it loves its own nation and people, it embraces also, in the range of its affections, all mankind. He who is in perfect love is necessarily a citizen of the world. He modifies his patriotism, therefore, by his love of humanity. If he owes much to his fellow *citizens*, he owes still more to his fellow *men*. His duties to the one are the mere incidents to his situation; his duties to the other are essential and everlasting.

11. The Quietist is a man of prayer. Without undervaluing that prayer which is appropriate to times and places, he has a prayer which is with him always. In souls in the state of pure love, the inspirations and impulses of faith and of holy desire can never die. There is in them a fountain, springing up to everlasting life. God is in us, if we have the love and faith to admit him there; and it is God that teaches us how to pray.

The views of Fenelon on this subject are striking. He is writing on that passage in Luke where the disciples ask the Saviour to teach them how to pray, and he utters his heart in the form of a supplication. "O Lord! I know not what I should ask of thee. Thou only knowest what I want; and thou lovest me, if I am thy friend, better than I can love myself. O Lord! give to me, thy child, what is proper, whatsoever it may be. I dare not ask either crosses or comforts. I only present myself before thee. I open my heart to thee. Behold my wants, which I myself am ignorant of; but do thou behold, and do according to thy mercy. Smite, or heal! Depress me, or raise me up. I adore all thy purposes without knowing them. I am silent, I offer myself in sacrifice. I abandon myself to thee. I have no more any desire but to accomplish thy will. Lord, teach me how to pray! Dwell thou thyself in me by thy Holy Spirit!"

If the soul is entirely free from selfishness, then all the desires which arise in it are not only in accordance with God's will, but are *from* God ; — and that, too, by a present divine inspiration. Such a soul is a holy soul. It lives in that same element of holy benevolence, which is declared to be the life of God. “ God is love ;” and if we are dependent upon God through Christ for other things, we cannot be otherwise than dependent for the great gift of purified affections. In its state of pure love, the soul can no more be dissociated from and be independent of God, than the rays of the sun can be separated from and be independent of their great centre. All its desires, therefore, are from God, and those desires continually exist. Its life is prayer ; its actions are the expression of prayer ; it might be said, with scarcely a figure of speech, that its very breath is prayer. While it regards, in a suitable manner, all times and places which the church has appointed, it has an interior closet of supplication, where God is ever present, irrespective of time and place.

12. The Quietist, being what he is on the principle of entire consecration to God, cannot easily be restricted, in his action and alliances, by party lines. It is true his principles may more nearly agree with the principles of one party than with those of another ; and that, among the various social, civil, and religious divisions which exist, he may be more likely to act with one party than with another. But it is impossible for him, living as he does for God, and living too *by the moment*, to pledge himself absolutely to a particular course of conduct in time to come. God is his Master ; — and, in his relation of an obedient son and servant, he is obliged to act according to the light which he has sought, and which is given him at the time of acting. And it is easy for him to see, therefore, that subserviency to

party, in the sense of following its dictates implicitly, would be inconsistent with allegiance to Him whom he has accepted as his supreme and only Ruler.

13. It must not be understood from this, however, that he is indifferent to the many important principles and questions which are constantly presented to notice. It would hardly be possible to make a greater mistake than this. As he cannot act independently of principles, it is the principle of things, especially the moral and religious principle, which he is continually examining. If the party to which he finds himself attached, at a given time, acts upon moral principle, then he goes with it; if his party diverges from principle, it necessarily renders him divergent from the party. In no other way, and on no other grounds, can he be allied with party, even temporarily.

Sometimes he fulfils his duty by ceasing from action. His principle of movement is to move as the Lord moves. If the Lord, in order to prevent his trusting in his activity, or in order to display more fully his own sovereignty of movement, requires him to cease from action, he stands still. So that there is sometimes truth in the language of a great poet: —

“ They also serve, who only stand and wait.”

14. These views help to explain the relations of the Quietist to religious organizations. As a general thing, the mere fact of his being a member of a particular church organization, or a religious organization of any kind, is a reason with him, other things being equal, why he should remain a member, rather than go somewhere else. His present position, the position where he is called to pray and act for the Lord, is the true or providential position, until something else, in providence, calls him to a different place. He does not take his light away, because the church is in darkness; but rather lets his light shine in the midst of the

darkness, even though the *darkness should comprehend it not*. It was in this manner that the Saviour let his light shine.

But when the indications of Providence are very clear, then he leaves the church or religious body with which he is connected, and goes somewhere else ; because being not in inactivity, but only at rest in the will of the Lord, he goes where the Lord requires him to go. And his departure corresponds with his principles and his spirit, in not being one of those ejaculatory and violent disruptions, such as take place when a man is propelled and driven off by the explosive impulse of human passion. But being in the Lord's spirit, who acts with the highest reason and the greatest tranquillity, he departs calmly, rationally, and lovingly ; but not without compassion for those he leaves behind.

15. I think we may add with a good deal of truth, that the Quietist, although the name might seem to indicate differently, is a true reformer. If his heart is filled with love, he cannot well be otherwise. He is naturally and necessarily allied with the spirit of every enterprise which has for its object the improvement and the happiness of men. And it is, perhaps, the best proof of his vocation as a reformer, and that he is one sent to aid in the correction of the many evils in the world, that he has, by the grace of God, reformed *his own spirit*. He who desires to bring men to the standard of the gospel should himself possess a patient and benevolent spirit. Jesus Christ is not more really the Saviour, than he is the Reformer, of the world. And yet how wonderfully does he combine the spirit of meekness and patience with the utmost faithfulness and with untiring labor !

It would not be difficult, as it seems to us, to support the statements which have now been made, by a reference to published writings and to well-known sacrifices and labors. The writings and labors of the Quietists, few and feeble as

those comparatively were who bore that name, would not have produced such a sensation in Europe, if they had not touched and probed some long-existing evils. In the list of modern reformers, of those who have aimed at entire religious toleration and at the highest results of civil and religious progress, Fenelon certainly is entitled to a highly honorable place.

16. One of the peculiarities of the Quietists, and which undoubtedly has some connection with the origin of the name, is what their writers have denominated the *permanent* or *continuous state*. They sometimes denominate it the *fixed state*. They do not mean by this a state which is absolutely immutable; although, when it is once reached, it is not very likely to change; but a state which is *established and at rest in itself by a continuity of nature*. It is a state in which the will of the individual is so perfectly lost in the will of God, that he desires nothing, seeks nothing, asks nothing, will receive nothing, out of that divine will, either for himself or others. But this is not all. This sweet union with the will of God is not a union which is compressed and forced, as it were, by the pressure of many and urgent motives, but has become *entirely natural*; — secured, without the hindrances of internal jarring and clamor, by a free, entire, and holy consent. A soul in this state is established and fixed in its rest; because, wanting nothing, it has all things.

This state is so simple, and, though it is probably made up of successive distinct acts, is so continuously uniform in its character, that persons who have reached it are frequently very much tempted in relation to it, as if it were not a right state. In having all things, it seems to them as if they had lost every thing. So much so, that they attempt, much as they did in the earlier stages of their experience, to originate other states, to give themselves away in new acts of consecration,

to array before themselves new motives of action, to exercise compunction, gratitude, and other distinct feelings; forgetting that they are all virtually but really involved in this simpler but higher state. It is this state of mind to which Madame de Chantal refers, in a letter to Francis de Sales, in which she says she no longer finds it profitable to form new acts of union with God, as if it were a thing not yet done, but only to REMAIN united with him; — TO BE, to CONTINUE quiet, just where she now is, namely, in that divine unity, which, in really existing, is no longer a thing to be done. This remaining in divine unity by a continuous and uniform act of the soul, or by such a series of uniform acts as establish a uniformity of character, without any movement or tendency to separate from it, can never take place without the supports of the highest possible faith. Blessed is he who has such faith, and such depth and permanency of inward peace! Persons cannot be in the state of deep and pure rest, denominated the CONTINUOUS ACT, or the CONTINUOUS STATE, without inspiring the outward action with the traits and beauty of the inward spirit.

Some explanations of this remarkable state may be found in the Spiritual Guide of Molinos, in the experimental and practical writings of Falconi, in Madame Guyon, and in the life of Gregory Lopez.

17. It is worthy of notice, although it is entirely in accordance with those traits of character which have already been intimated, that those who are in this experience suffer and die, if we may so express it, in *silence*. This is one of the most remarkable things in the history of Christ. When he was examined before Pontius Pilate, he *answered not a word*. In the language of the evangelical prophet, “He was oppressed and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth.”

Michael de Molinos, taking him as an illustration of what was true in other cases, had lived for his fellow-men. It is

an evidence of the greatness of his labors for others, that, when possession was taken of his papers, there were found among them letters from persons desiring information on religious subjects, to the number of twenty thousand. He was tried, condemned, and shut up in the dungeons of the Inquisition; where, after the expiration of twelve years, he closed his life.* But he uttered no cry, made no resistance, poured forth no denunciations. It is affecting to see with what calmness and entire faith in God, he enters that dungeon door, from which he knew there was no return. Taking by the hand the friar who attended him, and who was one of his opposers, he merely said, "Farewell; — at the day of judgment we shall see each other again; and then it will appear on which side truth is, whether on yours or on mine." Whether honored or dishonored, whether in freedom or in prison, he could say, it is all well. He knew in a sense, which brought the purest peace into his heart, that the agents in his humiliation and suffering were but the executioners of a divine purpose, which was full of wisdom and goodness.

18. The same sweet serenity, the same peaceful resignation, is seen in La Combe, in Alleaume and Bureau, in Falconi, in Fenelon, in the Countess Vespignani, in Madame de Maisonfort, in Madame Guyon, and in others who suffered in Spain and Italy as well as in France. They were willing, that the purposes of God should be accomplished in them *by suffering*. "Deny," says La Combe, "all desire, all inclination and tendency of mind, all attachment whatever, which is not from God. Desire nothing but the knowledge of God's will, and the disposition to do and suffer it." Having the Saviour's divine heart of acquiescence and love, it was easy for them, as they looked on their persecutors, to

* See the Memoirs of the Court of Louis XIV. by Dangeau.

utter the Saviour's expressions, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do*. Without making the assertion as an absolute one, it is true, as a general statement at least, that they had resignation for themselves, pity for their enemies, praises for the Lord, and complaints for no one.

19. Ecclesiastical history shows how frequently the advocates of pure or perfect love, resulting in a divine quietness of spirit, have made their appearance ; — and how much, until a recent period, they have suffered under the charge of heretical deviation. Those who have been the subjects of this transforming experience have felt bound, with however little prospect of its being accepted, to give their testimony. With this inward sense of obligation to declare what they knew, they appeared in Catalonia in Spain, about the year 1352 ; and were suppressed through the efforts chiefly of Sanci, archbishop of Tarragon, and Nicholas Rosetti, the Inquisitor. They again appeared in 1623, in the province of Andalusia ; particularly at Seville, the capital of the province. Andrew Pachecho, bishop of Seville, who held at that time the office of Inquisitor-General of Spain, employed very severe measures against them. Many were either formally banished, or fled to distant places to avoid the keen pursuit of the Inquisitors. Seven of the leading persons among them were burnt at the stake. But here, as in Italy and France, and in other kingdoms and periods, we see the same triumphant faith, the same holy and universal love ; in a word, that blessed spirit of resignation and benevolence, which “ loves its enemies, blesses them that curse us, does good to them that hate us, and prays for them which spitefully use us and persecute us.” This, as it seems to me, is the true test of a perfected Christianity.*

* See *Dictionnaire Historique des Cultes Religieux*. Art. *Illuminés*. — Also, *Relation du Quiétisme*, Pt. 2d, pp. 16, 91.

20. Is it thus, in an equal degree, in others who have suffered for Christ? When the Waldenses passed through that fiery trial, the story of which forms one of the most thrilling chapters of history, the cry of vengeance went through Europe. Milton wrote his sublime sonnet. Cromwell pointed his terrible thunder.

“Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered ones, whose bones
Lie scatter’d on the Alpine mountains cold.”

When the celebrated religious establishment of Port Royal in France was destroyed, and its inmates were driven out and scattered abroad never more to return, they uttered the wail of their sorrow wherever they went. The infirm old nun, ninety years of age, the last that left those hallowed precincts, lifted her withered hand, and exclaimed in terrific accents to Monsieur d’Argenson, the agent of the king: — “To-day, sir, is the hour of *man*; but be assured, that another day, the day of *God’s righteous retribution*, is not far distant.” As the residents of those dear abodes of piety and learning cast their last looks upon ruined walls and desolated fields, they applied the language of the Psalmist, “O God! the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem a heap of stones.” Bitter and terrible were their denunciations of the king; — the same Louis the Fourteenth who had so often closed the dungeons of Vincennes and the Bastille on the Lord’s people. And when they heard the victories of their country’s enemies, the victories of Hochstet and Ramillies, and when they learned the desolation in the king’s family, the death of his son, and of his son’s son, and of the duke of Brittany, the three successive heirs of the throne, all dying suddenly and awfully, it seemed to them, that the loud cry of their anguish and of their prayer was answered, and they rejoiced in the vengeance which had come on their oppressor.

21. And the question arises here, as it has often arisen : — Can we expect any thing other, or any thing better, than this ? Is it possible for human nature, even when aided by divine grace, to rise to such a height, that it can not only smile in the midst of its own sufferings, but ask for peace and blessing to its enemies ? However this question may be answered, we know that such was the spirit of Christ ; and we know also, that such ought to be, and must be, the spirit of those who are fully formed into the image of their Master and elder Brother.

22. It is this patient and forgiving spirit, the result of the experience and of the sanctifying power of pure love, which gives its Christian consistency and beauty to the sufferings of the Quietists. The same Louis who demolished Port Royal, and banished the Huguenots, laid his heavy hand on Fenelon ; deprived him of his offices and honors ; exiled him from all cities and places out of the limits of Cambray ; disgraced, imprisoned, and banished his friends ; and exerted his power in exacting an ecclesiastical condemnation from the unwilling court of Rome. But such was the power of the religious principles which Fenelon had adopted, and of his personal experience, that this unkind and cruel treatment called forth no unkind emotions in return. He gives us to understand, in writing to the duke of Beauvilliers, that he thinks much of the imperfect education of the king in early life, of the great temptations to which he is exposed at the present time, of the influences unfavorable to an expanded and correct view of religious things, which are brought to bear upon him ; — circumstances which call forth his sympathy and pity ; — and that he makes him the subject of earnest prayer.

23. And this simple and affecting statement, which is similar to what we find repeatedly in the experience and statements of Madame Guyon, illustrates the feelings of all

those who are in a similar state of mind. Their souls are transferred to a new position; and they behold all things in God. It is not so much they who are smitten by their enemies, as God who is smitten through them. To the world, therefore, they make no appeal. To any human arm they dare not look. The voice they utter is a voice unheard by men. Their heart and their eye are steady to the eternal throne; and they accept no comfort, no wisdom, no strength, which has not God for its author. And it is not presumptuous to say, that they are right. This, undoubtedly, is the true secret of inward and holy living,—to close our eyes and ears, our thoughts and desires, to every source of consolation and help which is not found in God alone.

And this is not all. When we go to God, it seems to be necessary that we should go to him not to fulfil *our* purposes but *his*. It must be our prayer, not so much that he may spare our pangs or increase our comforts, as that he may glorify *himself*. Our hopes and fears, our joys and sorrows, our friendships and enmities, should all be laid low, and be made equal in him, who is the ALL IN ALL.

24. It seemed to be but justice and truth, to speak thus favorably of those who have borne the name of Quietists. History, which is often written by men allied to particular sects and parties, has covered them with reproach. No people, as it seems to us, were ever more closely united with God; and yet, if we were at liberty to believe the statements of polemics and ecclesiastical annalists, we should reckon them among the weakest, if not among the worst, of persons. They themselves, however, ask no defender. The life they live “is by faith on the Son of God;” — and he who can trust his soul with Christ, need not hesitate to trust his reputation. From the beginning they have committed their cause to him in whom they have believed; — in full confidence that he would raise up those, in his own good

time, who would do justice to their principles. Before that time they neither ask, nor are willing to receive any defence ; — and least of all do they desire or need any panegyric. It was the motto of Fenelon, *AMA NESCIRI, Love to be unknown.*

25. Under the name of Quietist, no new party, no additional sect, will or can arise. The word *sect*, like the word *party*, implies division. Holy love, which is the foundation of those traits that characterize the man of a truly meek and quiet spirit, seeks and tends to unity. It is a pleasing and auspicious circumstance, that those who possess a truly humble and acquiescent spirit, founded on such love, are found, from time to time, in many sects. The principle of supreme love, therefore, which brings every inward evil into subjection, may exist in connection with speculative differences ; especially such as relate to the outward forms or ceremonials of religion. Faith in God through the Saviour seems to be all that is necessary.

Jesus Christ was the great Quietist. It is his elevation above human passion, which stamps him as divine. And it is Christ who gives us strength to realize in ourselves his own image. Study his life, and see what transcendent beauty and power are found lodged in a meek and quiet spirit. Follow him, and mark him in all situations, from the weakness of the manger to the matured and agonizing sufferings of the cross ; — and behold the moral beauty of him who, in all trials and sorrows, in all temptations and oppositions, is still a conqueror over himself. His own words have pronounced a blessing upon that meekness which was the great ornament of his divine life. He has told us to learn of *him* ; — and, in assigning a reason for this direction, he has announced the leading trait of his character : “ Take my yoke upon you, and learn of ME ; *for I am meek and lowly of heart* ; and ye shall find rest to your souls.”

PRINCIPLES AND MAXIMS IN RELATION TO THE INWARD
LIFE, COLLECTED AND RE-ARRANGED FROM THE WRIT-
INGS OF MOLINOS.

I.

Happy wilt thou be, if thou hast no thought but to die to thyself. Thou wilt then become victorious, not only over thine enemies, but, what is more, victorious over thine own evil nature. A victory, in which thou canst not fail to find a great increase of spiritual wisdom, the experience of pure love and perfect peace.

II.

And, to this end, be not afraid of those trials which God may see fit to send upon thee. It is with the wind and the storm of tribulation that God, in the garner of the soul, separates the true wheat from the chaff. Always remember, therefore, that God comes to thee in thy sorrows, as really as in thy joys. He lays low, and he builds up. Thou wilt find thyself far from perfection, if thou dost not find God in every thing.

III.

Seek not consolation, but God. Desire of God only one thing, that thou mayst spend thy life for his sake in true obedience and subjection. The way in which our blessed Saviour trod was not one of softness and sweetness. Nor did he invite us to any such, either by his words or his example, when he said, "He that will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me."

IV.

Resign and deny thyself wholly; for, though true self-denial is harsh at the beginning, it is easy in the middle, and becomes most sweet in the end.

V.

If thou wouldst arrive at the sublime region of internal peace, thou must pass through the rugged path, not only of outward trials, but of *inward temptation*. Temptation also is for thy good. In such an hour of trial, stand firm. When temptation assaults thee, put on the weighty armor of resignation, of constancy, and of quietness ; — and thus purge, renew, and purify thyself in this burning furnace.

VI.

Among other holy counsels which thou must observe, remember well this that follows : Look not so much on other men's faults as *on thine own*. Thou knowest thine own faults, but it is difficult to know the true nature and degree of the faults of others. A disposition to judge others turns the soul from its true centre in God, brings it outward, and takes away its repose. "Judge not, that ye be not judged."

VII.

It is impossible for a man to be able to live a life of holiness, — a life which depends entirely upon the wisdom and support which are communicated from God, — if he does not first die to himself by a total denial of all wrong appetites and passions, and by the crucifixion of the pride of natural reason.

VIII.

The soul which is thus purified is always quiet and serene, always possessed of evenness of mind, both in favors and sufferings. Tribulations never disturb it ; — nor do the interior, the continual and divine communications from God render it vain and conceited. It remains in wonderful serenity and peace, but still always full of holy and filial reverence.

IX.

It is in such purified and quiet souls, that God hath his place of repose ; — souls in whom the waters of affliction have washed out the dark stains of inordinate appetite ; souls in whom the fires of tribulation and of inward temptation have consumed the remains of earthly passion. In other words, God reposes himself nowhere, but where self-love is banished and quietness reigns.

X.

Be silent, and believe. Hold thy peace, and let thyself be guided by the hand of God. Suffer in patience, and walk on in strong faith ; — and though it seems to thee, that thou doest nothing, and art idle, being so dumb and resigned, yet it is of infinite fruit. The blinded beast that turns the wheel of the mill, though it seeth not, neither knows what it does, yet it doeth a great work in grinding the corn.

XI.

Be nothing in thyself, that thou mayst be strong in the Lord. When thou art nothing, thou canst experience no harm that will trouble thee. How is it possible for him to experience a grievance or injury, who thinks nothing of himself, and has no interest of his own, but refers all things to God !

XII.

There are three kinds of silence. Silence from words is good, because inordinate speaking tends to evil. Silence or rest from desires and passions is still better, because it promotes quietness of spirit. But the best of all, is silence from unnecessary and wandering thoughts, because that is essential to internal recollection, and because it lays a foundation for a proper regulation and silence in other respects.

XIII.

Let nothing affright thee. All things will pass away. God only is he that is unchangeable. Patience will bring about all. He that hath God, hath all things ; and he, that hath him not, hath nothing.

The following selections from Cowper's translations of the poems of Madame Guyon, are translations of *Cantiques* 22 and 78, of volume second of her poems.

TRUTH AND DIVINE LOVE REJECTED BY THE WORLD.

O LOVE, of pure and heavenly birth !
O simple TRUTH, scarce known on earth !
Whom men resist with stubborn will ; —
And, more perverse and daring still,
Smother and quench with reasonings vain,
While error and deception reign.

Whence comes it, that your power the same
As His on high, from whom you came,
Ye rarely find a listening ear,
Or heart, that makes you welcome here ? —
Because ye bring reproach and pain,
Where'er ye visit, in your train.

The world is proud, and cannot bear
'The scorn and calumny ye share ; —
The praise of men, the mark *they* mean,
They fly the place where ye are seen.
PURE LOVE, with scandal in the rear,
Suits not the vain ; it costs too dear.

Then let the price be what it may,
Though poor, I am prepared to pay ; —

Come shame, come sorrow ; spite of tears,
Weakness, and heart-oppressing fears ; —
One soul, at least, shall not repine
To give *you* room : come, reign in mine !

THE TESTIMONY OF DIVINE ADOPTION.

How happy are the new-born race,
Partakers of *adopting* grace !

How pure the bliss they share !
Hid from the world and all its eyes,
Within their heart the blessing lies,
And conscience feels it there.

The moment we BELIEVE, 'tis ours ;
And if we love with *all our powers*
The God from whom it came,
And if we serve with hearts sincere,
'Tis still discernible and clear,
An undisputed claim.

But ah ! if *foul and wilful sin*
Stain and dishonor us within,
Farewell the joy we knew ;
Again the slaves of Nature's sway,
In lab'riths of our own we stray,
Without a guide or clue.

The chaste and pure, who fear to grieve
The gracious Spirit they receive,
His work distinctly trace ;
And strong in undissembling love,
Boldly assert, and clearly prove,
Their hearts his dwelling place.

O messenger of dear delight !
Whose voice dispels the deepest night,

Sweet, peace-proclaiming Dove !
With thee at hand to soothe our pains,
No wish unsatisfied remains,
No task but that of LOVE.

'Tis LOVE unites what SIN divides ;
The centre where all bliss resides ;
To which the soul once brought,
Reclining on the first great Cause,
From his abounding sweetness draws
Peace, passing human thought.

Sorrow foregoes its nature there,
And life assumes a tranquil air,
Divested of its woes ;
There, sovereign goodness soothes the breast,
Till then, incapable of rest,
In sacred sure repose.

CHAPTER XX.

On the religion of prisons. Madame Guyon released in 1702, after four years' imprisonment in the Bastille. Banished during the remainder of her life to the city of Blois. Her state of health. Visited at Blois by many persons, foreigners as well as others. Publication of her Autobiography. Her feelings towards her enemies. Extract from Thauler. Her religious state at this time. Letters written near the close of her life. Remarks on her character. Address to her spiritual children. Sickness and death.

It would be a mistake to suppose that prisons are the abodes of wicked men merely. This certainly was not the case with the Bastille. When piety, under the name of heresy, becomes a crime, the prayers and tears of the dungeon are as likely to be acceptable to God, as those that arise within the walls of a church. It is a matter of historical record, that, in the course of the year 1686, a few years before the imprisonment of Madame Guyon, one hundred and forty-seven persons, almost all of them Huguenot Protestants, against whom nothing could be brought except the peculiarities of their religion, were sent to the Bastille alone. In the year 1689, the number, made up chiefly of members of the same religious sect, was sixty-one; persons who showed the sincerity of their faith by their sufferings, and who esteemed their liberty less than their religion. A full history of the Bastille would illustrate the virtues and

sufferings of the Jansenists, as well as of the Huguenots.*

2. Madame Guyon was in the Bastille four years ; imprisoned in 1698, and liberated in 1702. At the time of her liberation, she was fifty-four years of age. She was allowed, after her release from prison, to visit her daughter, the Countess of Vaux, who resided either in Paris or in the immediate vicinity. But the associations connected with her personal history and name were such, and such was the influence she was still capable of exerting, that she was permitted to remain there only for a short time. Her afflictions, without ceasing to exist, assumed a new form. The sorrows of a distant exile followed the anguish of solitary imprisonment. She was banished to Blois, a considerable city, situated one hundred miles south-west from Paris, on the river Loire.

This city is one of ancient date, beautiful in its location, and of some historical celebrity ; but it is not known what particular reasons induced the king to select it as the place of her banishment, in preference to any other. The disposition which was now made of her was final. Her banishment was for life ; but it was some consolation to her, that her eldest son, Armand Jaques Guyon, was settled with his family either within the limits of the city, or at a place not far distant ; — which gave her an opportunity of seeing him from time to time.

3. From this time, the year 1703, to the period of her death, in 1717, her life ceased to be diversified with incidents which it would be particularly important or interesting to lay before the reader. The extreme deprivations and trials of the Bastille had effectually broken a constitution

* Davenport's History of the Bastille and of its principal captives, chs. viii. x.

which was but feeble before. Few could have withstood, even so well as she did, those solitary hours, in which day and night were hardly distinguished from each other, those damp walls, the colds of winter and the impure heats of summer. Her advanced age, therefore, combined with her ill health, prevented her from engaging in those works of outward benevolence which had illustrated the earlier part of her life.

In a passage which she wrote during this period, she says : — “ My life is consecrated to God, to *suffer* for him, as well as to enjoy him. I came out of my place of confinement in the Bastille ; but, in leaving my prison, I did not leave the cross. My afflicted spirit began to breathe and recover itself a little after the termination of my residence there ; but my body was from that time sick and borne down with all sorts of infirmities. I have had almost continual maladies, which have often brought me to the very verge of death.”

The long period of her banishment was thus added to the long period of her imprisonment, during which she was called to glorify God by submission and by private prayer, rather than by active labors. She did not, however, cease to be useful. She glorified God by her patience under sufferings, and also by her more private efforts in conversing with others, and by her written correspondence.

4. Numbers of religious people, some from foreign countries, and among others some persons of high rank from Germany and England, came to see her. They had heard of her labors and sufferings ; and came either to receive the benefit of her conversation and instructions, or to pay the homage of sincere respect to her character. It was through the instrumentality of some one of these persons, whose name is not now known, that her Autobiography, from which

a considerable portion of the facts of this narrative are drawn, was first published.

She wrote it, in the first instance, at the suggestion and under the direction of her confessor, La Combe; but without any design or expectation that it would see the light. But such had been the dispensations of providence in relation to her, such had been her labors and afflictions, which had become identified, to some extent, with the general interests of religion, that she at last felt it her duty to consent to its publication; — with one condition only, that it should not be published until after her death. Having reëxamined and corrected it, she placed it, near the close of her life, in the hands of an English gentleman of rank; — one of those who visited her from religious motives at Blois, and in whom she had entire confidence. After her death he took measures for its publication.*

5. In one of the passages near the close of her Biography, written at this period of her life, she speaks of the great numbers of persons who came to see her, and of the conversations which she had with them. Religion, almost to the exclusion of other topics, was the great subject of her discourse. Forgetful of herself, she regulated her remarks exclusively by a regard to the spiritual state and the wants of those who thus had interviews with her. It would not be easy to estimate the good she was capable of doing, and which she was actually the means of doing, in this way.

There is some reason to suppose, that she was closely watched during the period of her banishment; and among the great number who came to see her, it is probable that some came with no other purpose than that of ensnaring her in her words. To this she refers when she says: — “I am

* See the Preface to the French edition of her *Life*, printed at Paris, 1791.

not afraid of the snares which any of those who come to see me endeavor to lay for me. Conscious of my own innocence and uprightness, I do not feel at liberty to take those precautions which a merely worldly wisdom might suggest. I leave all with God. O worldly prudence! How opposite do I find thee to the single heart and the simplicity of Jesus Christ! I leave thee to thy partisans. As for me, all my prudence, all my wisdom, consists in following Christ in his simple and lowly appearance and conduct. If a change in my conduct, and a resort to worldly artifice, would make me an empress, I could not do it. Or if, on the other hand, that simplicity of conduct which follows God and trusts in God alone were to cause me all the heaviest sufferings, I could not depart from it."

6. In another passage of her work, which bears the date of December, 1709, she says, "I entreat all such persons as shall read this narrative, not to indulge in hard or embittered feelings against those who have treated me with unkindness." And, in support of this earnest request, she quotes the following passage from the ninth chapter of the Institutions of Thauler, one of the pious authors whom she frequently consulted:—

"God, willing to purify a soul by sufferings, might permit an infinite number of well-disposed persons to fall into darkness and blindness towards that soul, in order to prepare this chosen vessel, by the rash bias of their judgments in such a state of ignorance; but at last, after having purified this vessel, it would not be surprising if he should take away the veil sooner or later from their eyes, not treating them with rigor for a fault which they have committed through the hidden conduct of his adorable providence. I say much more, that sooner would God send an angel from heaven, to refine this chosen vessel through tribulations, than leave it without sufferings."

7. The following statements, which are to be found near the close of her Autobiography, will give the reader an idea of the state of her religious feelings at this period. “*In these last times*, if I may so express myself, I can hardly speak at all of my inward dispositions. The reason is, that my state has become *fixed*; — simple in the motives which govern it, calm in its reliance on God, and without any variation. So far as *self* is concerned, it may be described as a profound annihilation. I see nothing in myself, nothing of the natural operation of the mind distinct from the grace of God, to which I can give a name. All that I know is, that God is infinitely holy, righteous, and happy; that all goodness is in him; and that, as to myself, I am a mere NOTHING.

“To me every condition seems equal. As God is infinitely wise and happy, all my wisdom and happiness are in him. Every thing which, in the state of nature, I should have called my own, is now lost in the divine immensity, like a drop of water in the sea. In this divine immensity the soul sees itself no more as a separate object: but it discerns every object in God; without discerning or knowing them as such *intellectually*, but by faith and by the affectionate feelings of the heart. God is not only in the soul itself, constituting its true life, but is in every thing else. Viewed in relation to the *creature*, every thing is dark; — viewed in relation to *God*, every thing is light; — and God will always enlighten and guide those who are truly his, so far as is proper and of real advantage. My soul is in such a state, that God permits me to say, that there is no dissatisfied clamor in it, no corroding sorrow, no distracting uncertainty, no pleasure of earth, and no pain which faith does not convert into pleasure; nothing but the peace of God which passes understanding, *perfect* peace. And nothing is of *myself*, but all of God.

8. "If any persons think there is any good in me, separate from God, they are mistaken; and, by indulging in any such thoughts, they do injury to the Lord whom I love. All good is *in* him, and *for* him. The greatest satisfaction I can have is the knowledge, that *he is what he is*; and that, being what he is, *he never will or can be otherwise*. If I am saved at last, it will be the free gift of God; since I have no worth and no merit of my own. And in the deep sense that I am nothing of myself, I am often astonished that any persons should place confidence in me. I have often made this remark. Nevertheless, in this, as in other things, I have, and can have, no will of my own. I must do what the Lord would have me do. Although poverty and nakedness belong to me in *myself*, yet God helps me to answer and instruct those who come to me, without difficulty. Appropriate words, such as the occasion requires, seem to be given me by that divine Agent who rules in my heart. As I seek nothing for myself, God gives me all that is necessary, apparently without seeking or studying for it.

"I feel much for the good of souls. It seems to me that I should be willing, in my own person, to endure the greatest sufferings, if it might be the means of bringing souls to the knowledge and love of God. Whatever wounds the church of God wounds me. Deeply do I desire her prosperity. He whom my soul loves keeps me by his grace, in great simplicity and sincerity of spirit. I have but one motive,—that of God's glory. And in this state of mind, I possess what may be called a freedom or enlargedness of spirit, which elevates me above particular interests and particular things; so that, in themselves considered, and separate from the will of God, such particular things, whatever they may be, and whether prosperous or adverse, have no effect upon me, but my mind entirely triumphs over them."

9. Among the last letters which she wrote, was the fol-

lowing to her brother, Gregory de la Mothe ; a humble and pious man, connected in some way with the religious Order of the Carthusians. Between this brother and Madame Guyon there seems to have been a strong mutual confidence and affection.

“Blois, —, 1717.

“My dear Brother,

“The letter which you had the kindness to send me was received in due time. In the few words which I am able to return in answer, permit me to say :—separation from outward things, the crucifixion of the world in its external relations and attractions, and retirement within yourself, are things exceedingly important *in their time*. They constitute a preparatory work ; but they are not the *whole* work. It is necessary to go a step further. The time has come when you are not only to retire *within* yourself, but to retire *from* yourself ;—when you are not only to crucify the outward world, but to crucify the inward world ; to separate yourself absolutely and wholly from every thing which is not God. Believe me, my dear brother, you will never find rest any where else.

“The time of my departure is at hand. For a considerable time past, I have had it on my mind to write and tell you so. If you can come and see me, before that last hour arrives, I shall receive you with joy. When I am taken from you, be not surprised, and let not your heart be troubled. Whatever may happen, turn not your eye back upon the world. Look forward and onward to the heavenly mansions ;—be strong in faith ;—fight courageously the battles of the Lord.

“I remain, in love, your sister,

“JEANNE M. B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

10. The following letter, addressed to one of her religious friends, was written, like the preceding, in the year of her death, and probably only a few weeks before that event.

“Blois, —, 1717.

“To —.

“I can only say at present, my dear friend, that my physical sufferings are very severe, and almost without intermission. It is impossible for me, without a miraculous interposition, to continue long in this world under them. I solicit your prayers to God, that I may be kept faithful to him in these last hours of my trials.

“Last night, in particular, my pains were so great as to call into exercise all the resources and aids of faith. God heard the prayer of his poor sufferer. Grace was triumphant. It is trying to nature; but I can still say in this last struggle, that I love the hand that smites me.

“I remember that, when I was quite young, only nineteen years of age, I composed a little song, in which I expressed my willingness to suffer for God. My heavenly Father was pleased, for wise purposes, to call me early to this kind of trial. A part of the verses to which I refer is as follows :—

By sufferings only can we know
The nature of the life we live;
The trial of our souls, they show,
How true, how pure, the love we give.
To leave my love in doubt would be
No less disgrace than misery.

I welcome, then, with heart sincere,
The cross my Saviour bids me take :
No load, no trial is severe,
That's borne or suffered for his sake :

And thus my sorrows shall proclaim
A love that 's worthy of the name.

“Repeating my request for an interest in your supplications, I remain,

“Yours, in our Saviour,

“JEANNE M. B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

11. The following appears to have been written to an ecclesiastic, in whose religious character and labors she had great confidence and hopes.

“Blois, —, 1717.

“Dear and Reverend Brother in Christ,

“I have had a great desire that your life might be spared. Earnestly have I asked it of the Lord, if it were his will, because it seemed to me to have a connection with the progress of his work in the world. In respect to my own situation, all I can say is, that my life seems to me to hang on a slender thread. I make no account of its continuance; although I know well that God can raise me up in a moment, if he has any thing further for one who accounts herself as *nothing*, to do here in the world. If my work is done, I think I can say, I am ready to go. In the language of the Proverb, I have already ‘one foot in the stirrup,’ and am willing to mount and be gone, as soon as my heavenly Father pleases.

“I take the liberty to send through you my affectionate salutations to our friend B. and his family; and, in behalf of all our common friends, it is my earnest prayer that God would be all things to them. Let us all say with one accord, ADVENIAT REGNUM TUUM; *Thy kingdom come*. Sometimes this kingdom, in consequence of the prevalence of wickedness among men, has the appearance of being at a distance. But the darkness of the times does not extin-

guish the light of faith. In his own good time, God will put a stop to the torrent of iniquity. Out of the general corruption, he will draw a chosen people, whom he will consecrate to himself. *Oh that his will might always be done!* This is all we can desire.

“I will close with only adding, that it is impossible for me to express the regard and love which our friends in this place have for you.

“Yours, in our common Lord,

“JEANNE MARIE B. DE LA MOTHE GUYON.”

12. On the character of Madame Guyon, of which this whole personal history is an illustration, it is hardly necessary to add much here. Her writings indicate, in some particulars, a defect of education; but they illustrate the greatness of her intellectual power. Without such power it would not have been possible for her to have exerted the personal influence which so remarkably attended her. Whatever company she might be in, such was her quickness of perception and her natural flow of language, that her mind could hardly fail to take an ascendant position. There seemed to be a natural disposition, on the part of those who listened to her conversation, to yield to that mental superiority which God had given her. The power which characterized her conversation was not less obvious in her writings. Though written, for the most part, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, they are full of thought; and of *such* thought and such relations of thought as are sure to excite both thought and feeling in others.

Her powers of imagination, as well as her powers of perception and reasoning, were very great. They gave, as it seems to me, a somewhat peculiar character to her conceptions and her modes of expression; so much so that it is often necessary to compare one passage with another, and

sometimes to modify the expressions, in order to reach the true meaning.

13. But if her intellect was of the highest order, it is true nevertheless, it was her rich and overflowing heart, renovated and sanctified by the grace of God, which gave the crowning beauty to her character. Her religion was the religion of God. It was nothing of man's devising; no patchwork of human ingenuity, inscribed over with hints and recognitions of man's merits. It is difficult to read her life and writings, without a distinct feeling that her soul was the temple of the Holy Ghost. Those who were with her during her life, those who saw her and conversed with her, felt it to be so. And this was the great secret, whatever may have been her natural powers, of the remarkable religious influence which attended her. God was with her.

14. Madame Guyon seems to me to have been a clear and remarkable illustration of the *sanctifying* results of religion, in distinction from its merely justifying power. Would it be reasonable to doubt, in view of the facts of this narrative, that she herself was the subject of that assurance of faith, and of that pure or perfect love, the necessary result of perfect faith, which she so long and ably advocated, and for which she was so willing to suffer? It must be admitted that it is difficult to describe, in any mere form of words, the *nature* of perfect love. In order to be known in its own nature, considered as an act or state of the inward affections, it must be *experienced*. But the mere fact of the *existence* of such love can always be known in one way. It always exists; and such are the laws of the mind, that it always *must* exist, where there is a perfect union of the will with the will of the beloved object. He whose heart is in such a state, that he patiently and lovingly submits to all that God imposes, and desires nothing and wills nothing but what God desires and wills, is in perfect love. The position of

the will, which is the true exponent of the affections, is known both by consciousness and by the outward life. Judged by the life, which is the test the Saviour seems to have applied more frequently than any other to his own character, we may assert, with as much confidence as it is allowed to fallible beings to assert in any case, that her heart was wholly given to God. The natural life was displaced, and a new life came into its place. And what was, or could be, that new life, but that of supreme attachment to God?

The doctrine of Sanctification as well as of Justification, will in due time have its philosophical and practical, as well as its exegetical exposition. And all will be tested, and *must* be tested, so far as we can perceive, by LIVING EXAMPLES. As the light of holiness arises upon the world, and as the names of those whose lives have been practical illustrations of a pure and perfected love, become more and more dear to the church, it can hardly be supposed that the name of Madame Guyon will be overlooked or forgotten. Forgetful of herself, she had no purpose, no desire, of being remembered. But he who forgets himself in the purity and strength of his love for another, necessarily writes his memorial in the heart and in the acts of the being beloved. It is for this reason, that God has thrown the protection of his providence around the beauty of her memory, because grace had made the heart and the honor of his "maid-servant" identical with his own.

15. In the closing part of her Biography, we find some parting counsels and encouragements to those then living, to whom she had been instrumental in bringing them to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and in promoting their advancement in sanctification. She was in the habit of calling those who sustained this relation to her, her CHILDREN. The remarks to which we refer are as follows:—

“Nothing is greater than God; nothing is less than myself. God is rich; I am poor. And yet, being rich in God, I want nothing. To me life and death are the same; because I desire nothing but what God desires. God is LOVE. All good is IN him; all good is FOR him.

“My children in the gospel! Many things have been said in relation to myself. I will not deceive or mislead you. It belongs to God to enlighten you, and to give you either esteem or disesteem for myself. The particular labors of my past life, what I have said and what I have written, have, in a considerable degree, passed away from my recollection. Giving myself to the present moment, and the *duty which now is*, I remember but little or nothing in relation to them. I leave them all with God. Separate from God, I want neither justification nor esteem. I want only to keep my place, and to go no more out from that place and that duty which God assigns; and thus to remain established in the great and divine Centre. I want nothing, therefore, but God and his glory. Let him, therefore, glorify himself, just as he sees best, either by establishing my reputation among men, or by destroying it. In his will they are the same to me; bearing equal weight in the balance.

“My dear children! Christ is the TRUTH. And if I have spoken truth to you, it is because I have spoken what Christ has spoken. I pray God to enlighten you always, to give you by his illuminating influences the clear discernment of his holy will, that no false light may ever lead you to the precipice. *Holy Father, sanctify them through thy truth.*

“Christ said, in reference to his disciples:—*For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified through the truth.*” Oh, blessed Saviour! say the same thing in behalf of these, thy little ones. Sanctify thyself, by being a holy life in their spirits, IN them and FOR them.

Teach them, that they also are sanctified, when they have all things from Thee, and nothing from themselves; when, in the possession of nothing they can call their own, they have that holiness which Thou alone canst give.

“My children! Let Christ alone be all in all, IN and FOR us; in order that the work of sanctification, resting upon the basis of divine truth, may be carried on and perfected in our souls. To Christ belongs all wisdom, all strength, all greatness, all power and glory. To ourselves, considered as separate from Christ, belongs nothing but poverty, emptiness, weakness, and misery. Let us, then, while we recognize and abide in our nothingness, pay homage to the power and the holiness of Christ. In this way we shall find all that we want. If, in the spirit of self-reliance, we seek any thing *out of Christ*, then we are not his true followers. The truth abideth not in us. We deceive ourselves; and in that state shall never become the true saints of God.

“Holy Father! I now commit these children into thy hands. Hear the prayer of thine handmaid. Keep them in thy truth, that the lie may not come near them. To assume any merit out of Thee, to attribute any merit to one's self, is to be in the lie. Make them know this to be the great truth, of which Thou art jealous. All language which deviates from this principle, is falsehood. He who speaks only of the ALL OF GOD, and NOTHING OF THE CREATURE, is in the truth; and the truth dwelleth in him; usurpation and selfishness being banished from his heart. My children, receive this from one who has been to you as a mother; and it will procure you life. Receive it *through* her, but not as *for* her; but as OF and FOR GOD. Amen.

“GLORY BE TO THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.”

16. In the beginning of the month of March, 1717, she had a very severe attack of sickness, from which she never recovered. During her sickness she conversed with her

friends, and wrote a few letters ; but she had no doubt that her labors were drawing to a close. God's hour, that hour to which she had long looked with interest, had arrived. Already those with whom, either as friends or as enemies, she had been associated in the earlier part of her life, Harlai, La Combe, Fenelon, Beauvilliers, Bossuet, the powerful monarch of France, all had been called hence. At last, the summons came to her also. She received it without surprise, and without repugnance. She went down to the grave, as her life would lead us to anticipate, in perfect resignation and peace. She had given her soul to God ; and God received her. No clouds rested upon her vision ; — no doubts perplexed the fulness of her hope and joy. At half past eleven o'clock on the night of the night of June, 1717, she died ; aged sixty-nine years.

17. A short time before her death she wrote a will ; — from which the following passage is an extract. It is an affecting evidence of the depth of her piety ; and that she relied on Jesus Christ alone : —

“ IN THE NAME

OF THE FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST,

“ This is my last will and testament, which I request my executors, who are named within, to see executed.

“ It is to Thee, O Lord God ! that I owe all things ; and it is to Thee, that I now surrender up all that I am. Do with me, O my God ! whatsoever thou pleasest. To Thee, in an act of irrevocable donation, I give up both my body and my soul, to be disposed of according to thy will. Thou seest my nakedness and misery without Thee. Thou knowest, that there is nothing in heaven, or on earth, that I desire but Thee alone. Within thy hands, O God ! I leave my soul, not relying for my salvation on any good that is in me, but solely on thy mercies, *and the merits and sufferings of my Lord Jesus Christ.*”

18. She was sincerely lamented by her relatives, and her numerous personal friends and acquaintances. Many pious hearts were deeply affected. Her remains were interred in the church of the Cordeliers, at Blois, where a monument was erected to her memory with a beautiful Latin inscription upon it. Such a departure, preceded by such a life as we have described, might be called a *transition* rather than death. It is proper, indeed, to say, that she died ; but it is equally proper to say, that she *went home*.

“ Rest, gentle spirit, rest !
Thy conflicts o’er ; thy labors done ;
Angels thy friends ; thy *home*
The presence of the Holy One.”

NOTE.

THE following Catalogue of the published works of Madame Guyon, with some explanatory remarks, is found in the French edition of her Autobiography.

1.—*La Sainte Bible, ou l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*, avec des explications et réflexions qui regardent la vie intérieure. 20 vol. Paris, 1790.

2.—*Discours Chrétiens et Spirituels* sur divers sujets qui regardent la vie intérieure, tirés la plupart de l'Écriture Sainte. 2 vol. *ibid.*

3.—*Ses Opuscules Spirituels*, contenant le moyen court et très-facile de faire oraison. Les Torrens Spirituels, &c. 2 vol. *ibid.*

4.—*Justifications de la Doctrine de Madame de la Mothe-Guyon*, pleinement éclaircie, démontrée, et autorisée par les Sts. Pères Grecs, Latins, et Auteurs canonisés ou approuvés; écrites par elle-même. Avec un examen de la neuvième et dixième Conférences de Cassien sur l'état fixe de l'oraison continuelle; par M. de Fénelon, Archevêque de Cambray. 3 vol. *ibid.*

Cet ouvrage contient le parallele et l'accord parfait de la Doctrine de Madame Guyon, avec celle des St. Pères; et on y trouve une infinité de citations des plus grand Saints, qui éclaircissent toutes les difficultés qui regardent la vie intérieure.

5. *Poésies et Cantiques Spirituels*, sur divers sujets qui regardent la vie intérieure, ou l'esprit du vrai Christianisme. 4 vol. *ibid.*

6.—*L'Ame Amante de son Dieu*, représentée dans les Emblèmes de Hermannus Hugo sur ses pieux désirs, dans ceux d'Othon Vaenius sur l'amour Divin, avec des fig. nouvelles, accompagnées de vers qui en font l'application aux dispositions les plus essentielles de la vie intérieure. Un vol. *ibid.*

7.—*Sa Vie, écrite par elle-même*, qui contient toutes les expériences de la Vie intérieure, depuis ses commencemens jusqu'à la plus haute consommation. 3 vol. *ibid.*

8.—*Lettres Chrétiennes et Spirituelles* sur divers sujets qui regardent la Vie intérieure, ou l'Esprit du vrai Christianisme. Nouvelle édit. augmentée et enrichie d'un cinquième volume, contenant la correspondance secrète de l'Auteur avec M. de Fénelon, etc. laquelle n'avoit jamais paru, et précédée d'anecdotes très-intéressantes. In-douze, 5 vols. Londres, 1768.

Un grand nombre de ces lettres ont été adressées au Comte de Metternich, au Marquis de Fénelon, et à nombre de Dames de la première qualité.

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These works are the fruits of many years' labor; and they prove their author to be a cautious and profound thinker, a perspicuous and elegant writer. He is entitled to rank among the ablest metaphysicians of our country.—*Christian Advocate and Journal*.

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I am highly gratified to learn that you publish Professor Upham's series of works on Mental Philosophy. I have used the former editions of his Mental Philosophy for some time past in this seminary, and am prepared, from intimate and familiar acquaintance with the work, acquired in the recitation-room as well as in my study, to speak of it in the highest terms. There is no work extant in that department so well adapted to the purposes of a text-book for schools and colleges.—REV. WM. C. LARRABEE, A.M., *Principal of the Wesleyan Seminary at Readfield, Maine*.

I have read with much satisfaction Professor Upham's works on Intellectual Philosophy and on the Will. The tone and manner of these books must be pleasing to all who love calm, dispassionate, and accurate investigation, and moderation in defending one's own opinions and canvassing those of others. I have no hesitation in saying, that I regard Professor Upham's books as giving the best views of the subjects named which we have in the English language, and as worthy of being read and studied in the schools and colleges of our country. Even those who may differ from him in opinion, will feel no disposition to indulge unkind feelings toward so sincere and candid an inquirer after truth.—REV. MOSES STUART, *Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover*.

I fully concur in the opinion of Professor Stuart, expressed in the preceding certificate, and could add more in favor of the works named, were it necessary.—REV. WILLIAM COGSWELL, D.D., *Secretary of the American Education Society*.

Professor Upham's Elements of Mental Philosophy is a work which was greatly needed as a text-book in our colleges and academies. It is now used, I believe, in most of our literary institutions; and I hesitate not to say, it is better adapted to the wants of students, in the science of which it treats, than any other work extant.—REV. S. LUCKEY.

I regard Professor Upham's several works on Mental Philosophy as among the best and most popular productions on the various subjects which he has treated. He is a charming writer, and his views are well expressed and well guarded, and are adapted to be extensively useful at the present day. His Abridgment is very much liked by those teachers who have used it. Mr. Coleman, principal of the High School, or, as it is called, the Teachers' Seminary, in this place, says, *he finds it much more intelligible to young men, and much more complete, than any text-book he has used.* And his judgment is worthy of confidence.—REV. LEONARD WOODS, D.D., *Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary at Andover.*

I have examined with care the work on Mental Philosophy by Professor Upham, and it is with pleasure that I express the opinion that the work will contribute much to the successful study of that difficult but eminently useful department of knowledge. It has the advantage over any other work which has fallen under my observation, that of having *comprehended* the subject. We have many profound treatises on separate portions of mental philosophy, and those, it may be, the most important; but I know of none which surveys the whole field but this. I ought to add also that its moral influence is exceedingly pure and healthful.—REV. R. E. PATTISON, D.D., *President of Waterville College, Maine.*

Permit me to say, that I have read the Treatise [on the Will] with a great deal of satisfaction. It is certainly a much better analysis of this difficult subject, in my judgment, than any thing I have before seen in relation to it. I can not but believe it will go far toward harmonizing the hitherto discordant views connected with this subject.—FROM the late WILBUR FISK, D.D., *President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.*

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